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4 April 1984

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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USSR REPORT  
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## INTERNATIONAL

### PONOMAREV ASSESSES U.S. 'PROPAGANDA' NETWORK

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 12, Dec 83 (signed to press 11 Nov 83) pp 62-66

[Article by Viktor Ponomarev: "Score for 'Voice' with Orchestra"]

[Text] "Germany's banking and military circles and corporations strove to attain military superiority for the purpose of establishing their mastery of the world. Fascist specialists of ideological elaboration also referred to 'peace,' 'national interests,' to the 'evils of communism' and yes, yes--to the danger of the 'Soviet threat.' We know what crippling results that campaign led to. The general plan worked out by Reagan together with the military-industrial complex and aimed at clouding the consciousness of people is comparable in its nature to it."

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the U.S. Communist Party

### "007" Continues its Flight

The airplane with doused navigational lights, not reacting to any warnings, impudently hovered over very important military strategic zones of the Soviet northeast. For two and a half hours interceptors tried to return the violator to outside the limits of our boundaries, using all means provided by international agreements.

While the South Korean "James Bond" hovered in the air, invisible waves of electronic systems probed the latter. On Shemiya [Chemofski (?)] Island, which is part of the Aleutian Islands and in the immediate proximity of Soviet boundaries, operators caught each signal of the radio-relay lines, each pulse of the "other side's" radar. The air waves were also being intensely monitored at another espionage base of the American National Security Agency (NSA) in Wakkanais on the island of Hokkaido. Electronic operators from the NSA were working on board an "air post"--the RC-135, following a parallel course with "007." The antennas of the spy satellites hovering over Kamchatka and Sakhalin and their powerful photo lenses were aimed at the "zone of heightened interest," Work was also seething at "Observation Island," which the NSA calls not without pride its supermodern

surveillance ship, continuously plowing through waters bordering on Chukotka and Kamchatka. The U.S. "Kobra-deyn" [Cobra-Dayn (?)] electronic espionage system frantically turned its electric counters. At Fort Meade in the State of Maryland, where the agency's headquarters are located--the largest and most secret organ of American intelligence--the bosses rubbed their hands with satisfaction: tape recorders were diligently recording all the operational characteristics of the Soviet Far-East air defense system....

"007" was still continuing its provocative flight....

This time its crew did not include 18, but 29 persons--11 were working on the installed intelligence equipment. The flight of the Boeing was controlled by two RC-135 reconnaissance craft plus an E-3A (with an AWACS early detection and warning system). An entire reconnaissance complex provided provocation: ships of the U.S. Navy, land-based tracking stations on the Hawaiian Islands, in Japan, in South Korea. The operation of Soviet radio and radio-technical equipment throughout the entire duration of the flight of "007" was recorded by the American satellite spy "Ferret-D". It appeared over our territory at the time of the plane's incursion into the zone of strategic facilities. With absolute precision as to time its regular circuit coincided with the flight of the Boeing over Sakhalin. Everything went according to plan.... "Version No 1" was coming to an end. The NSA bosses rubbed their hands.

#### "Version Number Two"

It was nighttime in Washington. Several blocks from the Capitol, a "special group" had already gathered in the administrative complex where the USIA--the U.S. Information Agency--was located. Oliven [?] Snyder, in charge of television questions, recalls: "People came in their pajamas, sacrificing their rest." The propaganda spokesman of the government was preparing "irrefutable proof," thanking the Almighty for the "incident."

The "people in their pajamas" spent the entire night piecing together the American version of the incident. In the literal sense--for motion pictures, television and the "Voice of America," adding "details" of their own production to the "selected" version.

Charles Wick, the director of the USIA and in the past an advertising and show-business specialist, knows how to sell any goods. Together with Oliven Snyder and his other assistant, Jack Hodges, he talked to Associated Press correspondent Ann Blackman about the "unprecedented efforts" and the extraordinary resourcefulness of his men. It is they who saw to it that a television monitor was installed in the UN behind the back of the permanent representative of the USSR. Photographs that were doubtful from the point of view of elementary ethics were rushed through USIA channels to 206 of its branches in 126 countries and soon appeared on the first pages of newspapers and magazines.

"Small details create an effect," Snyder boasted, understanding perfectly well how these "details" lead people away from the essence of events.

"We had several versions of that incident should the UN not have permitted us to show the video film. One film was shown in the hall, the other--in the garden. In the event the system failed to operate, we had another machine with the video film."

Mr Wick added: "Even before Snyder's men had started to work on the video film, the "Voice of America" had made the plane incident the chief topic of their reports." Broadcasting time to the USSR was increased, the strength of the signal was sharply intensified and the number of transmitters was doubled. But here a female journalist from the AP thought of asking the USIA director an intriguing question: would the USIA have applied as much effort if the incident had not been connected with the Soviet Union?

Mr Wick became perceptibly flustered, but his colleagues, virtuoso masters of glue and scissors, changed the topic to a safer channel, repeating, as it were, the approved version of what had occurred.

But this version suddenly burst its seams. With the appearance in the press of testimonies of competent persons, thinking people found in this version manifest absurdities and discovered significant omissions and reticences.

"Concerning Susceptibility...."

"We are participating in a bitter competition of ideas. Our adversary is the Soviet Union. The stakes in the game being played since the end of World War II are excessively high. The time has come to seize the initiative in the struggle for the minds of men and to conduct propaganda boldly and well!"--this is how Charles Wick began his talk before the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee in which he presented to the Senators "The President's Program of Democracy and Public Diplomacy" or, more simply, "Project Democracy." He explained that this program reflects in concentrated form the basic aspects of foreign policy for the next 20 years. The basis of the plan is President Reagan's speech in the English Parliament where he called on a new "crusade" against communism. Professor Allen Weinstein, the editor of THE WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, was appointed director of "Project 'Democracy'."

In everyone familiar with the public explanations of the nature of "Project 'Democracy'," there was the involuntary sensation as if he or she were trying to proceed through dense growths or over slippery water-soaked logs. According to the evidence of the American press, even the members of the Senate Committee found themselves lost in Wick's puzzling passages. No one, for example, understood that he had in mind the director of the USIA when he spoke of "coordination and sensitivity for the purpose of establishing various kinds of contacts aimed at promoting the development of the infrastructure of judicial, business and religious circles."

"I would like to apologize for those hazy, vague formulations used here," Wick justified himself, giving the impression that a candid exposition of the objectives of the "program" and the methods of its implementation would turn out to be just as unseemly as a striptease at an official reception.



Mr Wick asked 65 million dollars of the Senators, while they in turn persistently tried to elicit by whom and how the program would be implemented.

The series of subsequently held conferences involving the participation of Gerald Hallman, the deputy secretary of state for political questions, and Scott Thompson, the deputy director for programs of USIA, aside from declarative and bombastic assertions concerning "ideals and values," added nothing new that would have cast light on the real nature of the new program and the mechanism of its realization.

Appearing before journalists at an official briefing in Washington, Lawrence Eagleberger, deputy secretary of state, was obliged to admit that not everybody found it clear on what the taxpayers' money would be spent, that the USIA was asking for. But he refused to speak of concrete measures within the framework of the program or on the plans of the National Security Council in connection with its implementation. The main questions--what were the aims of "Project 'Democracy'," what was the mechanism of its implementation and who "was ordering the business"--remained unanswered.

But what is secret inevitably becomes clear at some point. And if the grains were to be collected in regard to what was scattered in the piles of verbal rubbish--in numerous interviews, shorthand reports of Senate sessions, press conferences and other materials--it would be clear that the President's directive is a score for a tremendous orchestra, where the strings and woodwinds are hardly heard because of the noise of the tympani and the brass instruments. Each voice has a part written for it, but all of them blend into the melody of a sinister march. And for a refrain one hears the call to a "crusade."

L'HUMANITE or LE MONDE?

"The development of democracy with the support of existing institutions"--such in condensed form is the formulation of the main goal of the new program. Naturally, democracy in the American manner.

"If you wish," Eagleberger cast to the journalists, "our project is the political accompaniment to already existing military and economic aid."

The deputy secretary of state did not hide that he was referring to aid to political parties, groups, trade unions, the mass information media and individuals, to the fact that the selection of an object for charity would be motivated by ideological aims.

"I can assure you that the U.S. Government would not provide funds in support, for example, of the newspaper L'HUMANITE in Paris. This I can guarantee you!"

"But what about LE MONDE?"--the question of a journalist could be heard, but no reply to it followed.

"Would it be possible to know to whom how much money has been issued?"  
"I doubt it. We, of course, will not point out that \$4.75 has been paid to a specific Citizen X. The general direction of outlays will be known."

Mr Eagleberger should not be envied: he has to do a lot of talking without saying anything of significance. But since "freedom" was promised, it was found necessary to answer rather delicate questions. Let us say, would there not be a "political accompaniment" to interference in foreign affairs? The official representative of the State Department elicited the thought that "there could be grounds for the assertion that we ostensibly were interfering in someone else's diocese" and immediately called "to proceed from what the chief values are that we want to support abroad." But again a question followed: what criteria would be used in selecting subjects for assistance, for the fact is that while 65 million dollars is not a small sum, but the requirements of the propaganda agencies are still larger. And here USIA Deputy Director Thompson rushed to his aid. He suggested that all foreign stations propose the most effective means of spending the funds. Staff members of USIA's department for program development were selecting from among the proposals those that would provide the biggest return. In the hurly-burly of the press conference, no one asked whether "Project Brahmaputra" was included among those selected and approved by the "special planning group."

The Indian press reports on how it is being realized. For example, PATRIOT. The country's government possesses information from reliable sources that a plot has been hatched in the United States aimed at the destabilization of the situation in India. It is a composite part of the general plan of the U.S. administration for expanding the CIA's subversive operations in the world. A special place is assigned to India whose independent policy has long elicited poorly concealed irritation in Washington. According to the intentions of the authors of the plan, it is proposed to break up India into a number of small states. The United States is intensively engaged in secret operations for the purpose of producing an economic and political crisis, fomenting intercommunal discord and separatist moods in the country and sowing the seeds of discord between India and other states. Northeast India, as well as the northwestern states of Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir are the regions where "quiet Americans" are operating most actively. At the same time, another version is being developed--overthrow of I. Gandhi's government. For this, the U.S. intelligence services are placing their hopes on rightist opposition in the country, which, according to Washington's calculations, should put an end to the foreign-policy line of J. Nehru and I. Gandhi. Almost daily the pages of Indian newspapers contain reports on new terrorist acts, sabotage and other provocations of separatist and nationalist groups. By directing and supporting them, the U.S. attempts to carry out its "Brahmaputra" plan--to create in northeast India a marionette state of Sikhs called "Khalistan." It has been established, the HINDUSTAN TIMES writes, that the leaders of the Punjab separatists maintain close ties with the CIA and with "quiet Americans" in other U.S. agencies.

This is how the "very effective" plans submitted today to the American and foreign public actually look in the cheap wrappers of "Project 'Democracy'."

It is difficult to refrain from comparisons with the past. Not so long ago the government of the United States gave money to the newspaper MERCURIO in Chile in order to contribute to the "defense of democracy." The plan was called "Journalist" ["Gazetchik"]. But in the past 10 years Chile has been living under a fascist dictatorship whose advent was promoted by the U.S. government. "Cooperation of democracy"....

#### Ian Mackenzie's Seminars

According to the idea, the USIA is to strive for the creation abroad of favorable ideas concerning the United States. According to "Project 'Democracy'" it now will help the governments of foreign states to acquire a favorable press for them in the United States itself.

Today it is teaching officials from Latin American countries and Arab states how to deal with American journalists from newspapers and television companies. That is, it teaches them what to say and how to say it. USIA staff members have long been troubled by the fact that representatives of the Salvadoran government "are afraid" to speak candidly and are unable to "convincingly" describe their views on the civil war in their country as the leftists are doing. Evidently fearing to let out a secret, they are reluctant to answer questions of correspondents. Providing access of "balanced" reports to organs of the American press relating to those countries which have a major bearing on foreign-policy aims of the United States, such is the orientation of the head of the seminars which the USIA is conducting within the framework of the "Project."

The program of teaching this difficult procedure--of talking without saying anything or lying without getting red in the face--is headed by Ian Mackenzie, a former consultant and specialist on relations with the press who worked for the late Anastasio Somoza. The latter, despite all of Mackenzie's efforts, failed to resolve the problems connected with the "unfavorable opinion concerning him of the public." Today, Mackenzie's "methods" are being studied, as THE WASHINGTON POST maliciously points out, by other rightist regimes. The training of their representatives--specialists in relations with the press--will cost American taxpayers \$170,000. At the first seminar conducted for representatives of the mass information media of the countries of Latin America and the Near East, four were from El Salvador. They included officers of the armed forces as well as the chief of the department of information of the extreme right NRS [?] Party. Participants of the seminar from the Haitian regime of Duvalier and the fascist dictatorships of Chile, Guatemala as well as the governments of Bolivia, Ecuador and the Barbados. In a document that was not intended for the broad public, it was stated that the "purpose of the seminars is assistance with the forces of the mass information media to the governments of a number of countries as well as to their armed forces in increasing the effectiveness of their activities in the ideological struggle."



A month went by. At Ian Mackenzie's second seminar, officials engaged in press relations were brought together from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Qatar, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Algeria, Yemen, Oman, Morocco, Tunisia and the United Arab Emirates with whom Reagan's administration ardently wishes to maintain good relations. Whether by mistake or on purpose, there was invited a representative from Syria, which is included on the CIA's register of "countries supporting terrorism."

Within the framework of "Project 'Democracy'," Washington is attempting to instruct not only the successors of Somoza. It convokes international symposiums and conferences at which it tries to "condemn and stigmatize" ways that do not come under its idea of "democracy." One may recall the fervor with which the functionaries of Mr Wick orated from the tribune of the so-called seminar "On Free Elections." Their eyes were turned to the East. Considerably farther than Chicago. Although there at the time of elections for the mayor of the city, more than 30,000 ballots were stolen from election districts that had been submitted for the negro candidate. But no reference to this, of course, was made. Mr Wick's assistants were pointing their fingers to the East. The further away from home....

#### Music Lovers from Langley

With enviable persistence in advertising their goods, the cosmetologists of "Project 'Democracy'" prepare for it the fate of a highly active agent capable of "bringing order, effectiveness and purposefulness" in the collaboration of the USIA, the State Department, the Council for International Radio Broadcasting and other U.S. institutions to the sphere of "struggle against Soviet propaganda."

"What others?" asked with interest the deputy secretary of state and the director of the USIA. Understanding perfectly well what they were concerned with, Eagleberger and Wick hastened to dispel any suspicion that the CIA would be involved in any shape or form with this program. Their assurances in the aggregate were as follows....

[State Department] We have understood for a long time that the participation of the CIA is not necessary. We know that the participation of the CIA in such a program would immediately doom it to failure or discredit our entire initiative.

[USIA] Everything in this program will be accessible to the broad public. The CIA is not going to participate in it. The provision of support for democracy must be open and public.

[Question] Who is going to "look after the shop"?

[Answer] The money will be turned over to the USIA.

[Question] Did the CIA participate in the makeup of the program?

[Answer] The CIA is in no way involved in this.

It would seem that statements of the state officials are not the idle talk of a market merchant. But all of a sudden Mr Wick, when no one was asking him anything, informed the press that with the birth of "Project 'Democracy'" William Casey, it turns out, was present at the meetings. He was forced once more to answer spiteful questions.

From the stenographic report:

"The CIA will not be involved in this?"

"Excuse me?"...

"What, the CIA will not be a participant in the matter you are undertaking?"

(Laughter in the hall.)

"We have different spheres"....

"In the past, the CIA was engaged in activities which it called cooperation with free trade unions, parties and the mass information media."...

"I cannot speak in the name of the CIA."

"What programs of "Project 'Democracy'" were formerly financed by the CIA?"

"I cannot say that we will speak of this even when old programs of the CIA will come under our control."

"We asked Prime Minister Fanfani of Italy whether the Christian Democrats were obtaining money from the CIA "under the table" as has been stated by the former director of the CIA Colby. Would it not be possible to take funds from you allocations and secretly turn them over?"

"I doubt it very much."...

And in vain. Wick, the director of the USIA, for example, does not doubt it. He again let out that the USIA was making through "third parties" contributions to the budgets of different organizations. For greater conviction, he even named one--the Interamerican Association of the Press. According to its charter, it does not have the right to obtain governmental funds, but nonetheless accepted \$50,000 from U.S. federal authorities through a dummy "firm."

"Don't think that there is anything wrong here," the USIA director naively said. "They simply have a great deal of experience."...

Here, at least, Mr Wick did not lie. CIA personnel need not borrow experience. Taking into consideration their experience with dirty tricks, they are placed in hot spots within the framework of the "Program of Democracy and Public Diplomacy." It is not necessary to go far for examples.

## And Again Levitski

As soon as "Project 'Democracy'" got on track, a new person--Melvin Levitski--appeared on the staff of the "Voice of America" governmental radio station. Bald, already having lost the waist of a man, he confidently occupied the chair of deputy director. And he began to determinedly meddle in broadcast programs, demanding more materials "on the persecution of Jews in the USSR," "on human rights" and the like. Anything you wish, so long as it had a harsh antisoviet spirit.

Very few people knew of the other face of Mr Deputy Director. Or of his damaged reputation as a supernumerary spy. In this unenviable role, the present deputy director of the "Voice of America" acted in Moscow, where he was listed as a diplomat in the American Embassy and was known as a most adroit and successful specialist in establishing contacts with persons who were getting ready to emigrate and with "dissidents." It cannot be said that he held any special sympathies for this public, but his bosses in Langley believed that no better medium for the acquisition of sources of information on the USSR could be conceived and for this reason Levitski uncomplainingly bore his cross. Until the time he received the instruction to take up with Soviet citizen S.L., a friend of whose worked at a facility connected with the production of submarine equipment. As to what subsequently happened, S.L. described in detail by means of an open letter to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the UN and the U.S. Congress published in IZVESTIYA. As a detail of the portrait of the present deputy director of the "Voice of America," let us remember that in recruiting a Soviet citizen in Moscow for work with the CIA, he was absolutely sure of the purity of his moral principles, although he lied forgetfully and recklessly. And in regard to his "ward," he promised gold mountains for carrying out CIA assignments. And he promised to his chiefs at the espionage agency to even possibly penetrate the general staff with the aid of his "particularly valuable" agent.

Melvin Levitski's soap bubbles burst. Even the career of Mr Pressel, his successor at the American Embassy, collapsed. Levitski, as the more experienced spy, had directed him along his long-left dirty paths. They say that Levitski ostensibly managed to extricate himself in a passionate talk at Langley, smearing his colleagues in espionage and with a calm conscience stayed under "deep cover" at the State Department from where he was shifted by his bosses to the sound of the "crusade's" trumpets "to a forward sector"--to Mr Wick's agency.

The CIA foundling appeared at the radio station at a "hot time" and naturally made a contribution to the duping of listeners at the time of the "Sakhalin incident" when, in the expression of UPI, "America raised its voice"....

Espionage victims of the likes of Levitski, like a swarm of midges reacting to light have now flown to the USIA and government and private organizations of the United States connected with "Project 'Democracy'," where their experience as professional liars and provocateurs is needed today. Let us say that NATIONAL DEFENSE, a press organ of the American Association of Defense Preparedness, where leading arms manufacturers have gathered,

have W. Kennedy and S. de Gherke [Gayrki], castoffs from RUMO (intelligence administration of the U.S. Department of Defense). They, like their colleagues at the "Voice of America," are engaged in "public diplomacy." In September of this year, a sketch of these provocateurs was clearly drawn by the American publicist Victor Perlo in the DAILY WORLD. Analyzing their article in the journal NATIONAL DEFENSE, he made a most curious observation: the violation of USSR air space by the South Korean spy plane coincided timewise with a campaign launched by American generals and military industrialists. He indicated the aim of this campaign in the heading of his unmasking publication: "Invasion of Siberia."

W. Kennedy and S. de Gherke made public the reason in favor of such an invasion from bases in Alaska, Japan, South Korea and the Philippines. Their articles in significant measure cast light on the reason for the growing tension in the region where the catastrophe took place.

Beginning with a panegyric of the atomic bomb and the "brilliant" results of its employment against Japan, the authors then compose a hymn to the MX, Trident missiles and other first-strike weapons. But this is not the main point! Through the mouths of the castoffs from RUMO, the merchants of death and lobbyists of nuclear catastrophe discuss quite seriously the necessity to "create for the Russians a threat in the northern part of the Pacific Ocean and Northeast Asia." The authors of the article, who are connected with U.S. military intelligence, blurt out: "Reagan's government has adopted certain main prerequisites for such a strategy. Disclosure is made of plans of locating an American F-16 squadron in northern Japan and locating an airborne combat group in ports on the Pacific coast of the United States." But this is insufficient, they assert, insisting on a colossal buildup of armed forces in the northern part of the Pacific Ocean, aimed at Siberia. They also call for a deployment of Pershing missiles and cruise missiles [krylatyye rakety] in the western part of the Aleutian Islands.

A map of targets in the USSR serves as a graphic illustration. Moreover, the areas over which the South Korean plane flew are first and foremost. It states in the headline: "The vast open spaces of Siberia provide for the air mobile army that we are beginning to create that freedom of maneuvering which is not to be found in Europe."

The strategy which the retired spies propose promises billions of dollars to the companies represented in the journal's council of directors. As for big business, the colossal raw-material resources of Siberia serve as an enticement for it. And to prove that the "Russians will necessarily suffer a defeat in Siberia and in the Far East," the authors boastfully write of the military victories ostensibly won by the Americans who intervened in Arkhangelsk immediately after the 1917 revolution....

It would hardly be worthwhile to speak in detail about the delirious plans blabbered by the retired military intelligence operators if it were not for the fact that they were included in USIA's broad propaganda campaign to drum into people's heads that fantastic idea of the attainability of American nuclear superiority, of the possibility of victory in a future nuclear war.



If it were not that these reckless conceptions are aimed at making the unthinkable permissible and even desirable.

This campaign has sinister aims. The fact is that if a person were to believe the lies about the "Soviet threat" and that the "Russians are coming," he could be easily convinced of the need for the 300 billion dollar military budget of the United States.

These notes in the score for "voice" with orchestra have been inserted in the score by the arrangers from Langley. In the framework of "Project 'Democracy'" this part of the score is called "Project Dailey." After the name of that same Dailey, who has been helping Britain to plant democracy with English bayonets in Northern Ireland and as a second job occupies the position of American ambassador in London.

"Project Dailey" was born out of an office note at the U.S. State Department in which the ambassador, basing himself on his own experience of ideological baiting of Ireland's freedom fighters, discusses "possible ways of increasing support by European public opinion for plans of deploying Pershing-2 missiles in Europe and cruise missiles [krylatyye rakety] in case of an unsuccessful conclusion of talks on control over armaments in the Soviet Union."

The "unsuccessful conclusion" is definitely known to Ambassador Dailey, who has been programmed in the White House. He also knows about the gigantic manifestations in Europe and the United States itself against the militaristic plans of the Pentagon and NATO. The ambassador has sought a way out of this "unsuccessful" situation through expansion of exchange programs and through holding of symposiums aimed at the cultivation of representatives of the so-called elite of the new generation, witnesses of the Vietnam War of the United States and of Watergate--teachers, journalists, party leaders.

The "clavier" of Ambassador Dailey seemingly sounded pretty well until it reached the U.S. National Security Council running [kuriruyushchiy] the national intelligence organs. They decided there that for the sake of the cause it would not hurt to cross Dailey's plan with the ideas of William Casey, the head of the CIA.

Their common efforts resulted in the appearance of a monster in the form of a militant "pacifist" with a bomb and an anti-American banner in his hands, dreaming of annihilating the nuclear stores of NATO in Europe. For better frightening the public, they dressed the monster in Siberian woolen boots and put low on his head a flat, round fur hat with a red ribbon, letting him roam around Western Europe. And a specially rehearsed choir of "voices" and supporting voices accompanied his performance of a pot-pourri of Russian Cossack songs and military marches.

Taking into consideration artistic abilities, highly placed soloists were invited to join the choir--President Reagan, Secretary of Defense Weinberger, CIA Director Casey and there sang along with them people from NATO together with the indomitable fascist Joseph Luns [Luns]. When USIA Director Wick was asked on what grounds he considered the "people of Moscow" to be

participants of the antiwar movement, he openly cited the opinion of the CIA and the Pentagon.

At the same time, the English TIMES wrote: "Many independent currents are being infused into the campaign for nuclear disarmament!" The American WASHINGTON POST observed: "It would be tempting to attribute the European movement for the defense of peace to an agreement, prepared, encouraged and controlled from Moscow. But American officials admit that they cannot convincingly prove that the USSR played any role here." These and other forced admissions in connection with "Project Dailey" simply could not be heard. The leading tenor--the President himself--has been singing a false note to the present time, which he assumed in June of last year at the time of the million-strong manifestation of defenders of peace in New York: "The hand of Moscow!"

The DAILY WORLD writes in this connection: "In Hollywood, Reagan was a second-rate actor. But today he has turned into an adroit specialist in the spreading of illusions, into a superdemagogue. Moreover, he has been helped in this by the well-paid authors of his speeches' text who do not experience the slightest remorse for the fact that they lie to the American people."

The ditties of the President on the given theme are also a composite part of the "Program of Democracy and Public Diplomacy." But here he made such a "sound" that the self-respecting actor wished that the stage would swallow him.

"The FBI made an incredible discovery to the effect that the Soviet Union, it would appear, was not playing a dominant role in the American movement for freezing of nuclear armaments," the newspaper L'HUMANITE wrote: "It also does not control nor direct this movement, for which reason it cannot be considered responsible for the gigantic manifestation of 12 June last year by peace advocates in New York where about 1 million persons gathered."

And further on: "...Reagan shows himself to be a liar, calumniator and provocateur since it is namely he who in appearances on television and at press conferences has repeatedly asserted that the "movement of pacifists in the United States was created with the aid of foreign agents."

...What then can be said of the confidence of radio listeners in the broadcasts of "Voice of America" depicting the position of the government of the United States?

One could have put a period at this point if there had not appeared new information concerning those persons who write the music for impresario Wick.

It's a Bargain

"Telegraph agency of the CIA"--this is what with full justification the information services can be called which constitute a most important composite part of the intelligence organization. Created in 1941 and having



grown stronger in the battles of the "cold war," it resembles today a regular telegraph agency or newspaper editorial office. Its headquarters in the city of Rosslyn in the State of Virginia, have a hall for press conferences and its own network of telephone, telegraph and telex communications operating around the clock. There translators of all languages, editors selecting news items, and experts on economics and military affairs preparing analytical surveys and reports work.

But in distinction to most telegraph agencies, the service does not disclose the number of copies of its publications and keeps secret the number of staff members employed and the number of its foreign correspondents. Even the name of the director has never been published. Still certain information has found its way into print. The newspaper INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE wrote that thousands of intelligence officers working in American embassies and consulates as well as at military bases listen daily to local radio broadcasts, look through central and provincial newspapers, look at television programs and immediately report on their "most promising and interesting observations and proposals" to the service's headquarters. There these observations are processed, edited and issued in the form of information bulletins eight times a day. The bulletins are sent to Langley, the White House, the Pentagon, the State Department, USIA and other U.S. governmental institutions. Several years ago, when the acknowledgment of ties with the CIA evoked a modest blush on the physiognomy of the American press, the service surreptitiously slipped bulletins to reporters "without references." Today the situation is changing. The daily bulletins of the "telegraph agency of the CIA" can now be acquired by every press organ. The National Technical Information Service--an organ of the U.S. Department of Commerce--even announced a price. The annual subscription for a bulletin costs only \$250.

"A bargain!" advertises the production in the form of a CIA representative named Dale Peterson. "In addition, the subscriber is the first in the world to know what is going on in the world and what the attitude of the U.S. government is to events."

In other words, this concerns every possible kind of "incident" provoked by the CIA as interpreted by the "men in pajamas" and the "arrangers" from Langley.

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WESTERN ANTICOMMUNISM SAID CONTINUATION OF HISTORIC ANTI-RUSSIANISM

Moscow XX CENTURY AND PEACE in English No 2, Feb 84 pp 25-30

[Text]

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In issue No. 10, 1983 we opened a new heading, "Dialogue on Trust". The materials published in it provoked a lively response from the readers. In this issue we continue the dialogue.

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## Confession of an American

Dear Editor,

I appreciate your feature "Dialogue on Trust", because I feel that it is important that we come to understand, through various perspectives, the psychological and historical aspects of our relationship and the motivations that lie behind our actions. If we understand these deep motivations, then perhaps we will be able to act more wisely.

In the 10-83 issue, Archbishop Pitrin emphasizes one aspect of the present situation, and E. Batalov emphasizes another. Too often we in the West imagine that all Soviet people think alike; I now see that this is not the case. I now see that genuine dialogue, involving differences of emphasis and a genuine search for answers, is possible, and so I feel encouraged: I want to contribute to the dialogue by offering you my own feelings and perspectives.

I love your country. I love its folk music, its culture, its warmth, its immortal and brave history, the dignity and beauty of its cities, the grandeur of its vision, its achievements and its sorrows. At the same time, I fear my

own country. I fear its militarism, the irrationality and ignorance of some of its rulers, its narrowness, its lack of vision and internationalist spirit, its dangerous cities, and the closed-mindedness of some of its citizens. Because of these deep feelings, it has been all too easy for me to fall into the trap of Manichaeism. I have made the mistake of viewing the world as an idealist absolutist black-and-white contest: the "forces of good" (communists and Soviets) against the "forces of evil" (capitalists and Americans). Just as my own country has gone off on a medieval "crusade against communism", I have begun to view life as a "crusade against capitalism". Because of this narrow simplistic black-and-white "crusade mentality" or "holy-war mentality", I now find myself incapacitated. I have lost the power to communicate with, listen to, understand, and influence my compatriots. I have lost my ability to exert a strong constructive influence in the struggle for peace. And so, however, tempting and convenient it may be to view things in an idealist black-and-white manner, I must warn

against using such a view: using such a view harms the cause of peace. It is a mistake to allow Manichaean idealist notions of "black and white" or "good and evil" to replace the communist concept of "class exploitation". To say blindly that "all capitalists are evil" and "all communists are good" does a terrible injustice to our cause, the cause of peace and survival and reason and understanding.

The Manichaeanist view of things is in part a product of fear and paranoia and lack of faith or confidence. We fear a military conflict, and this fear narrows our vision and understanding. Fear strips our world of color and leaves us blind, and this blindness may then in turn bring about the very result we fear: fear may become a self-fulfilling prophecy. For this reason, a broader perspective is needed, one in which fear of a military conflict is not the sole focus.

In truth, things are not so simple as emotions such as love and fear lead us to believe. As an American, I can hardly appreciate the terrible harm done to your country by Hitler. But I do know that your country is not the only country that has ever known sorrow. Because of the treachery of our rulers prior to and during World War II, our country escaped physical destruction. But Hitler left his imprint on us nonetheless.

I grew up in the "fifties, in a climate of fear. Millions of minds were shaped, and perhaps irreparably damaged, by this fear. We have been running from this fear for the last forty years. We have run off to Vietnam, off to Lebanon, off to Central America, off to Europe, off to outer space, and now, off to Grenada—even tiny Grenada terrifies us. Why? Why should we be so afraid? I think I know the answer. For you, Hitler is an evil you defeated; for us, Hitler is an evil that we failed to face completely, an evil we collaborated with and ran from. For you, Hitler is an evil that you stopped, crushed. For us, Hitler is an unknown, a mysterious evil that we still do not understand, still do not know how to deal with or comprehend or stop. In our view, evil seems unstoppable, inevitable, unknowable. For this reason, the thought of such an evil has come to terrorize us into blind submission. Because of fear, distinctions are lost: we began to see the entire world as an implacable unstoppable "enemy" intent solely upon our destruction. How is one to cope with such a demonic unstoppable unknowable "enemy"?—certainly not with treaties or trust or

"naive" ideas! Military force is a false hope—but it became our only hope. Deification of military force is suicidal—I think we know this. But there is nothing else to cling to, no other "God", no other vision, no other hope. Hitler destroyed our faith: our faith in ourselves and our faith in "God". Hitler destroyed us not physically, but psychologically: he destroyed our national sanity, our human nature, our confidence in the future. In this sense, like you, we too are victims of Hitler. At heart, we are victims, not aggressors. Condemning a sick man for being ill is not likely to cure his disease, and condemning us is equally futile and counter-productive. If you believe in the future, then don't condemn us: help us to regain faith in ourselves so that we too will want to live to see the future. Despite the shameful and barbaric atrocities we have committed, underneath you will find that our civilization is human and deserving the sympathy that all human beings are worthy of.

We speak of a "Soviet threat". Of course there is not necessarily any connection between the phrase "Soviet threat" and the name of your country: how misleading words can be! The "Soviet threat" is just a misnomer for a very real fear that lies within ourselves. We are at war not with you, but with ourselves, and for all of the casualties we have suffered these last forty years, we have only ourselves to blame. This is a bitter thought.

But when I think of the last forty years of my country's history, years of fear and terror and death, then I am no longer so eager to conclude that there is no justice in this world. Do you understand what I am saying? I am beginning to regain a little of my faith in justice: Yes, perhaps there can be justice.

E. Batalov mentions "believers" and "atheists". The difference between the two is one of language, not substance. Throughout history, human beings have maintained mythic or idealist conceptions of human nature. You regard all such idealist conceptions as pernicious, and so you refuse to deal with them. Unfortunately the language of idealism is the only language Reagan speaks. You are unwilling to speak such a language. Reagan interprets your unwillingness as "inability" or "inferiority", and that leads him to think that his own idealism makes him "civilized" or "superior". Imposing this "civilized" way of seeing things on you becomes his "White Man's Burden".

Speaking the language of idealism is not so difficult as you seem to think. For example, I use the word "faith". What is "faith"? It is the antidote to fear; without it, fear preys on us and ultimately destroys us. It is therefore something that strengthens us, something that is essential if we are to continue to struggle. It is an act of the will, but it is also an act of humility or submission: it involves submission to or acceptance of human nature, while letting go of all non-essentials. If our nation had more faith in itself, it would not "need" the present suicidal military build-up.

Peace through truth.

Charles OBLER

Boston, the USA

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Having received this letter, we showed it to Byelorussian writer Eduard Skobelev who also agreed to take part in the dialogue. Below is his article "To Peace Through Truth".

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## To Peace Through Truth

Your letter, esteemed Mr. Obler, is a moving document imbued with the thought about peaceful life of mankind! The letter wonderfully combines the thirst for truth and honesty with some prejudice and watchfulness. But I, a Russian, a Soviet man, don't want to search shortcomings in your point of view and confront it with my understanding of things. I believe in your sincerity, frankness, and good intentions. This is enough to put aside all real contradictions (most of them are invented by specialists of psychological war) which divide us, and begin also to search sincerely and frankly the only path of mankind where our paths, the path of our peoples, are converging.

Taking your letter as basis, I want to express my opinion how we must live in order to survive. I would like to continue some of your thoughts which I found very interesting not only

from the point of view of understanding between an "American" and a "Russian", but from the point of view of understanding among all people of earth.

"Peace through truth" is your proposal. I not only share these words, I believe that at present it is the only real way to peace and prosperity. Lie in all its forms brings torments and ruin to mankind. Truth is the last chance to preserve human's community and solve its numerous and difficult problems.

Let's begin with the main—with fear, which exists on both poles. Fear, of course, blinds, deprives of will and transforms a citizen into an executor of somebody else's will.

The bloody scourges of history: the Huns, Avars, and Tatars-Mongols turned cornfields into smouldering ruins and peaceful cities into heaps of stones and corpses. This always forced the



Russians to unity and alliances with other peoples. Such was the way of Russia's development and in such a way it protected with its body at first post-ancient and later on West European civilization from the raids of the invaders. When the great Russian state was formed, West European courts started an active anti-Russian policy, fearing that the Russian state can invade Europe. Confrontation among European courts weakened the anti-Russian alliance, nevertheless; it preserved its anti-Russian character. Russia was denied equal cultural and economic ties, it was imposed with all forms of ideological slavery. The ruling class of Russia got now franchised now germanized. Moscow was overflowed with enemy agents, and attempts were made to impose the worst forms of cosmopolitanism on the original country to weaken the basis of Russian self-consciousness. One war followed another. Mainly they were wars provoked by the anti-Russian intrigues of European courts. Is it necessary to explain that the wars required colossal sacrifices and put another burden on already unbearable position of the people?

Century after century Russian set great hopes on Europe and century after century it got bloody lessons...

The anti-Russian policy needed, naturally, some sort of motivation. It was found, as usual, in lies, exaggerations and silencing the truth. The Russians were depicted, of course, as blood-thirsty beings in bearskins with axes. The fruit of Russian culture and experience of Russian democratic movements were ignored. Such was the way in which the greatest lie grew increasing the gap between West and East.

The contradiction, West-East, created by colonialist consciousness, bore in itself a kernel of war! Even then, propaganda reached monstrous scales without provoking neither shame nor repentance on the part of the European civilized public.

I'm not going to give a historical account. But if the confrontation between West and East was so acute in the 19th century then it became extremely serious when in 1917 the October Revolution put an end to the power of oligarchy and private ownership as a means of oppression!

Intervention and interference continued up to the war with the fascist Germany when West once again needed the allied Russia and its power and blood. But guns were still firing when West, represented by the American administration, was already preparing a nuclear war against the USSR. These facts were proved by documents and are known to everybody now.

I ask, do we the Russians have a historical right not to believe? Doesn't the recent declaration on the "crusade" against us and the desire to defeat us in a nuclear war but strengthen this right?

Nevertheless, in spite of all this we don't run to extremes and don't give way to our feelings. We don't give way because it's contrary to our humanism and the sense of solidarity and responsibility...

We are aware of the fear among people of Western countries before "communist Russia". This lie, as it is known now, is coming from afar, only it became more acute at the moment. As before, the rank-and-file in the West doesn't get the truth about us. As before, we are discriminated against and groundlessly accused in order to justify not only anti-Russian but also anti-communist plot.

At present, artificial contradictions between West and East are fanning more vigorously than before and this is utterly inadmissible, suicidal and extremely unreasonable.

I agree with you that it is utterly absurd and not serious to divide the world into "only bad capitalists" and "only good communists". The approach to both social realities and individuals in the USSR is quite different. The Soviet Union maintains good relations with representatives of capitalist business because coexistence is inevitable and beneficial for both sides with the conditions of non-interference and mutual respect being observed.

In order to avert the catastrophe we catastrophically lack the truth, the truth only!

Peoples trusted their destinies to their governments believing in their responsibility. But what responsibility can be spoken about if we more and more see the facts based on mysticism and magic? Just as in the times of Hitler, some figures believe in prejudices and "signs" more than in mind and reflection. Under such conditions nothing can protect and guarantee the existence of peoples but their mass political struggle for the life and for more reliable control over their politicians. As is known, the international movement against nuclear threat is serving these aims.

I respect the American people and their right to have a president they deserve. But I would like to see every president would respect each people with whom he deals in the name of his people. The accusation of the Russians in atheism seems to me a propaganda trick. Maybe it is God who sanctioned the forcible seizure of defenceless Grenada or destruction of civilians in Lebanon or support of the

anti-popular dictatorial regimes all over the planet?

Some are highbrow about our world outlook but it includes all moral values accumulated by mankind during millenniums. This world outlook prompts us to condemn nuclear war in principle, as a means for solving political controversies, and build up our military strategy on defence exclusively. Doesn't obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons show this.

Communism didn't appear because of somebody's "evil intention" or "through the fault of the Russians". It returned to life because in the primitive society all peoples lived through it. Communism has become an inseparable part of the living body of the planet. It cannot be separated from this body. Is it difficult to understand that there is no reasonable alternative to the existence of different social systems?

All must remain as they are and at the same time each must learn a common language: the language of a united and peaceful mankind. But new moments of life must be mastered in order to be able to use it. It must be accepted that the methods of former policy have exhausted themselves and that the world cannot now be built on supremacy and subordination, violence and victims, lie and deception. Every war, including the war against their own people, is criminal, apart from the problems of halting the arms race there are problems of hunger, inequality, illiteracy, environment and demographic strategy. Each delayed day in creating new values plunges the world still deeper into the abyss of contradictions from which it is more and more difficult to get out.

The world has yet not adjusted its outlook in accordance with the requirements of the new epoch of nuclear weapons. That is the reason why we are living in an atmosphere of nightmare which becomes more and more aggravated from day to day.

In spite of the real policy pursued by the Soviet Union, the West propaganda machine will always ascribe to it aggressiveness, totalitarianism, atheism and lack of culture in order to justify and reinforce its strategic line for attaining military superiority and building up the effective forces of the first strike. But will the other side recognize it willingly? Maybe it will be more simple to put all the blames on the "enemy", i.e., on the Soviet Union? It is because of fear and confrontation, which brought the world to the brink of a catastrophe that the present gigantic military-industrial complex with all its lobbyist attributes can parasitize.

They ascribe aggressiveness to the USSR because it was the first to lay the path to new social relations. These social relations attract the peoples who are enslaved and tired of inequality and dictate. But someone derives profits by depicting this historic process as "subversive actions of Moscow".

Are the "Russians" guilty that peoples are searching for other, higher level of civilization? They won't stop at socialism and will, perhaps, create such harmonic forms of communism that we can't even imagine now.

It seems to me that political ignorance, which we met at every corner, is deliberate and guise something hostile to the public interests. Your wise words, dear Charles, I would declare a programme for all people of the earth: fight against ignorance, militarism, and narrow-mindedness, especially of those individuals who have access to the levers of power.

Don't you think the American nation would have more faith in itself if it wouldn't allow itself to be deprived of this faith, i.e., wouldn't allow itself to be fenced completely by ill-intentioned propaganda screen from the rest of the world seeing in it only "enemies" and "barbarians". I assure you that if the Americans fully open the truth about the values of other peoples for themselves, they would strengthen the faith in their own values. It's an open secret that the "American dream", which once possessed the minds of many generations, is now a sad spectacle.

To raise one's own spirit at the expense of enslavement of others is an agony of the spirit. The "victory" over Grenada cannot produce either heroes or glory or the memory for the descendants. On the contrary, all these increase antipathy and bewilderment: does really the soul of an American become so shallow that he finds inspiration in an open act of violence against himself?

So, the truth is necessary. This truth demands the innovation of shabby notions and political dogmas. It also demands a new philosophical way of thinking which will throw away old blind alley approaches, and, first of all, it will end with the illusion of an idea that war is a most radical means for solving political problems admitting that refusal from war is the most radical means. Speaking about it, I recollect the letter from our Indian colleague, S. Bose, to the editor of "20th Century and Peace" magazine. Having retold the course of third world war, the way it was depicted by newspapers, he expressed doubts that the



"West civilization is the most advanced", and suggested to emphasize the ideological and moral wealth of other civilizations. He named such great people as Ramakrishna and Rabindranath Tagore.

I think and I believe that "West civilization", continuing to ignore the ideological and moral experience of other civilizations, greatly confronted itself to the rest of the world. Until "West civilization" remains closed and inaccessible to the values of other civilizations, we will solve nothing. If we want to think together about all then we must think about all with the experience of all taken into account.

Anti-war movement of peoples, to my mind, is a new philosophy, the philosophy of rapprochement and mutual understanding. It must be taken into consideration that it is young and bears the burden of former notions in it. But it is a new world-wide philosophy which considers the planet as a whole and mankind as a unity.

Eduard SKOBELEV

CSO: 1812/146

## INTERNATIONAL

### CPSU CC ATHEISM INSTITUTE DIRECTOR ON WESTERN RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA

Moscow AGITATOR in Russian No 21, Nov 83 (signed to press 18 Oct 83) pp 30-33

[Article by Prof V. Garadzha, doctor of philosophical sciences, director of the Institute of Scientific Atheism of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee: "Atheism and Contemporary Ideological Struggle"]

[Text] Falsification of Leninist principles relating to the attitude of the CPSU and the Soviet state toward religion is one of the basic directions of clerical anticommunism. It is assigned an increasingly larger role in the organization of the "crusades" against socialism. Every day and every hour fantastic stories are disseminated concerning "forced eradication" of religion in the USSR, concerning the existence of a "persecuted church" and of harassments because of belief. Attempts are continuing to prove that in our country there is no freedom of conscience and only "forced atheism" is to be found.

The falsificators have as their aim to denigrate, to present in distorted form methods of overcoming religious prejudices in millions of people and to discredit it in the eyes of world public opinion.

In atheistic educational work, it was stated at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, it is necessary to take into account that numerous ideological centers of imperialism spread fabrications about certain "violations of freedom of conscience in the USSR" and are trying not only to maintain but also to plant religion and to lend it an antisoviet, nationalist direction. At the same time, the propagandists of anticommunism rely on religious extremists who, speculating on the principles of freedom of conscience, conduct antisocial activities.

The bourgeois propagandists would very much like to inflame religious fanaticism among the representatives of the various nationalities of our country and to incite believers and religious leaders to a confrontation with the state authorities.

What is "clerical anticommunism"? By this term we understand the use of religion in ideological struggle against Marxist-Leninist theory, a true scientific world view, and against the socialist system.

Clericals criticize the aims and methods of scientific communism and the actual practice of a revolutionary restructuring of the world. First of all, doubt is cast on the theory of class struggle and socialist revolution: force, they say, never leads to liberation. They determinedly emphasize that no social and economic system is capable of saving man from social injustice, trying thereby to ideologically disarm the revolutionary movement and to oppose the active life position of the builders of the new society with social pessimism and passivity.

They make the accusation against Marxism-Leninism as an ideology that it allegedly opposes eternal spiritual values with transitory, purely "material," "physical" needs and interests. And in this connection, Marxist-Leninist atheism is presented by clericals as antihumane. The desire is imputed to "Godless communism" to forcibly eradicate religion and together with it the moral foundations of life, almost to enslave believers.

These assertions have nothing in common with reality. The Soviet state ensures all citizens--irrespective of their beliefs--various rights and freedoms in all the spheres of economic, political and cultural life.

A propagandist of Marxist-Leninist atheism resembles least of all a person who sees the entire sense and aim of his work solely in proving that God does not exist. He has another task--to help man to correctly understand the world and his place in it. . . . And inasmuch as he is hindered in this by superstitions, prejudices and fallacious views--to help the believer get rid of them, to free himself from all forms of spiritual oppression enslaving man with illusions. Not to confront believers with nonbelievers, but to unite them in the struggle for common aims, for social conditions for all-round and free development of man and all of his capacities.

K. Marx and F. Engels inevitably emphasized that materialism and atheism coincide with humanism, that the atheistic world view in its most developed form is just the substantiation of real humanism. The humanism of Marxist-Leninist atheism is manifested in the desire to "subvert all relations in which man is a humiliated, enslaved, helpless and despised creature. . . ." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works" [Sochineniya], Vol 1, p 422).

The ideologues of anticommunism try in all ways to distort the life of Soviet society. They, for example, actively propagandize the thesis of the allegedly unequal attitude of the Soviet state to different religious faiths. But this is a deliberate lie. Not a single party decree on questions of atheistic education, not a single Soviet law provides even the slightest basis for the assertion of a preconceived attitude toward the followers of a religious faith and of the creation of privileges for another. Any attempts to influence believers against socialism, against adherents of other religions and nonbelievers and thereby weaken the unity of the Soviet people are in vain. Long-term life experience is the best agitator. It convinces believers of the fact that the peoples' unity is one of the powerful sources of the Motherland's development and growth of the well-being of all society and of every person regardless of what faith he professes.

It becomes increasingly clear--and this is directly or indirectly acknowledged by churchmen--that Marxist-Leninist atheism has become a force exerting a significant influence on the course of historical development. Thus at the Congress "Evangelization and Atheism," held in Rome in October 1980, Pope John Paul II declared that despite the efforts of the Church atheism continues to increase its ranks. In distinction to the past, it represents a force that opposes the Church both from without and from within; atheism is penetrating the consciousness of believers. Whereas in the past, belief in God was considered as something understandable, as a natural and normal phenomenon, in the near future, the situation is likely to be the opposite. In any case, the Pope of Rome acknowledged that even today atheism is considered as an ordinary and not at all surprising side of life. On the other hand, belief in God is being found quite surprising. It is something that even many Christians are accepting not as a duty but rather as one of possible choices, like corroboration of the right to a choice. The main thing "is the undisputed fact that people are increasingly living as though God did not exist." They are convinced that it is possible to live without resorting to the aid of religion or a church.

In this light, the exacerbation of the ideological struggle of ruling church circles against scientific atheism becomes understandable, which they have declared to be the "most grievous disease of the time," a direct threat to the very existence of mankind. Finally, they might be understood if they conducted the struggle against atheism in the name of saving religious faith while concerned with the faith of the church. No, they consider the struggle against atheism as being broader, as a struggle in the name of salvation of mankind, describing atheism as a threat to its future. And here the falsifiers of Marxist-Leninist atheism join anticommunists, put arms in the hands of those people who are ready to use them for purely political purposes having nothing in common with the interests of believers.

Moreover, in promoting the program of "evangelization of peoples," that is, the all-embracing penetration of the church into all spheres of society's life, the clerical ideologues explain: "Evangelization is therapy of the soul, healing of a disease caused by lack of belief in the ability of the church to help man...." Basing themselves on this, militant clericals proclaim "evangelization of the world" as the main condition of saving mankind from "spiritual degeneracy." They thereby defend the claim of the church not only to spiritual but also to political leadership of society and strive to bolster the position of clericalism.

For ideological sabotage against the countries of socialism, all kinds of "religion-promoting" centers and subversive organizations under religious masks, created with the help of intelligence services in the West, have been founded. There are 25 of them just in Western Europe. Various "sovietologist" and scientific centers "investigate" the position of religion in socialist states among other problems. They include: the American Center for the Study of Religion and Human Rights in Closed Societies, Christian Crusade Against Communism, Underground Evangelization in Communist Countries, Jesus for the Communist World. Also Light in the East and Help of Ministers of the East in the FRG, the Center for the Study of Religion and Communism in England.



The scope of their activities can be judged by just one fact. The organization Jesus for the Communist World, financed by the CIA, has launched its activities in 52 countries.

Many "religious missions" maintain ties with intelligence services of the imperialist states with mediation of antisoviet emigre organizations of the National Labor Alliance and Antibolshevist Peoples' Bloc type. Paul Leinhardt, an American theoretician on psychological warfare, has openly written that his colleagues "frequently mask themselves, hiding behind the name of God and the church." This was even more candidly stated by Allan Dreyfus, an American intelligence worker: "By means of the church we are able to operate with the utmost effectiveness. The church is of important value to us. This is the easiest and most reliable way of penetrating the country."

Each such "religious" center has its own specialization. Some theoretically develop methods of ideological subversion, others directly employ them. But the aims are identical for the former and the latter--to discredit the communist viewpoint, to defile socialist democracy, to create a militant opposition in the religious milieu. These are the main objectives of clerical anticommunism.

Of course, belief in God is not a synonym of anticommunism. Religiosity in itself does not make a believer an enemy of socialist society. One does not have to go far for examples: in our country, where the scientific world outlook has become the norm for the consciousness and behavior of the overwhelming majority of citizens, atheists and believers are building a new society together. In capitalist countries, many religious people actively participate in the struggle for social progress. The irresponsible course of Reagan's administration in the direction of preparation for a nuclear war, building up of military preparations in Central America, aggression in Lebanon and Nicaragua and all-round strengthening of cooperation with the most repressive, racist regimes have resulted, for example, in the angry indignation of participants of the 6th Assembly of the World Council of Churches recently held in the Canadian city of Vancouver (900 delegates from almost 100 countries as well as more than 3,000 observers participated in it).

The fact is that far from everybody shares the anticommunist views of those church leaders who try to suggest to their congregation that the struggle with communism is their "sacred duty" and religious obligation. Leading church circles are obliged to take into consideration the will of many rank-and-file ministers and the moods of broad groups of believers demanding changes in church policy and the abandonment of old opinions and approaches to socialism. Studies are revealing of attitudes of religious adherents to different values. They were conducted several years ago on the assignment of the Episcopate in the FRG. More than 80 percent of the persons surveyed stated that they consider the most important value to be preservation of peace. Increasingly more often realistically thinking ministers and believers are for increasing the struggle for peace, for the well-being and progress of mankind.

More important than concerns for "saving of souls" is the common concern of all people of good will on our planet to save civilization, vast cultural values

and to save life itself from the threat of nuclear destruction. Rallying of believers and nonbelievers for peace is more important than arguments about faith.

At the same time, the pages of the bourgeois press are increasingly dotted with materials about a "religious renaissance," on growth of religiosity in the USSR and other socialist countries. Citing all kinds of conjectures about revival of religious beliefs in our country, about the existence of a religious "boom," Western propaganda passes off the fact of existence of religion under socialism as evidence of the fallaciousness and ineffectiveness of atheistic education and as a certain "victory" of faith over the Marxist-Leninist world view.

The main thing for the clerics is to "prove" that religion has seemingly stood its ground in the struggle with Marxism-Leninism and not succumbed to the "onslaught" of socialist ideology. Religion, they say, lives on in the minds and souls of people and leaves no place either for the ideas of socialism or for scientific atheism. For this reason, juggling of facts and falsification of the true state of affairs take place. Thus, one literary publication, pointing out that many funerals are held according to Muslim rites in the USSR in regions of prevalence of Islam, then makes the conclusion: "This last act of Muslims in Russia and their desire to die as Muslims and be buried according to Islamic rites not only demonstrate the viability of Islam as a religion but can also be considered as an expression of distrust of the system."

Who cannot recall Lenin's words that "when the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie goes down and is undermined and weakened, the bourgeoisie everywhere and always has resorted to and will continue to resort to the most awful lies and slander" (V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 25, p 352).

One of the chief accusations of clerical reaction has been that in the USSR a "policy of state atheism" is maintained. It is aimed at the liquidation of religious organizations, isolation of believers. With this as their pretext, the "Western protectors" interfere in our internal life. A typical statement in this regard was made by Eliot Abrams, head of the Human Rights Department of the U.S. State Department. In an interview on a BBC radio station, he declared: "There can be no more elementary right than the right of religious freedom and freedom of conscience. One of the manifestations of the dictatorship in the Soviet Union is limitation of freedom of conscience and prohibition of religion."

The USSR Constitution guarantees the right to satisfaction of the religious needs of believers in the same degree as the right not to practice any religion and to hold atheistic views. The gentlemen of the State Department concerned with the rights and freedoms of citizens of socialist countries should think about the suppression of dissident thought in the United States and about discrimination against people adhering to atheistic convictions.

In distinction to many countries of the West where the ruling circles in union with clerics are inciting and fomenting in every possible way interreligious quarrels and where enmity toward atheism is cultivated, information on



religious affiliation is never recorded among us--either in population censuses or on being hired for work. For this reason, no accurate data exists on the number of believers. The "defenders of religion and the church" speculate about this in the USSR when discussing the religiousness of the Soviet people. They even present inflated "statistical data." Thus in one of their BBC broadcasts, they tried to persuade that the number of believers in the Soviet Union today is the same as it was before the revolution. THE NEW YORK TIMES newspaper mentions a figure of 41 million. And the journal PRAVOSLAVNAYA RUS', published in the United States, is convinced that the number of Orthodox alone is 115 million. The Paris LE MONDE writes of 70 million Muslims and so on.

As we see, there is no agreement on the part of our opponents on this question. They are in accord only in one thing--the desire to foist the idea that socialism is allegedly powerless before the "religiosity of the masses."

In the West "sovietology investigators" literally gleam with references to articles and books by Soviet authors. Western "specialists" turn to these publications, of course, not for showing the level and achievements of atheism in the USSR. Utilizing works of our atheists and the data presented in them, sovietologists without exception give them their "explanation" while pursuing an aim that is far from serious scientific analysis of the real situation.

They, for example, determinedly look for cases in Soviet life that could serve as a basis for the assertions of antisoviets concerning "religious unrest." With this aim in mind, information is blown up and disseminated concerning the slightest cases of violation of legislation on religious cults and on defects in atheistic work. Data are gathered on poets and writers using "religious images" in their work. Clerics on the basis of all of this attempt to inspire the thought of the existence of an alleged division of Soviet society on the basis of religious principles and a growing competition of religion with Marxist-Leninist ideology in the minds of Soviet people.

Church figures try to look in the eyes of world public opinion as upholders of humanism, the ideals of which can be acquired only on the basis of religious principles. Church and religion have proclaimed for many hundreds of years the "good tidings" and have attempted to inculcate in people the "fear of God." And what happened? They have not succeeded in overcoming immorality. Take any bourgeois country today where religion retains its position. They call the growth of crime from year to year as the "number one problem." According to the data of their own bourgeois press, for example, in the United States 95 percent of the criminals are believers. Ferri, the Italian scientist, on examining 200 murderers in prison did not find a single atheist among them.

Social hypocrisy, inherent in bourgeois ideology, is manifested especially strikingly in clerically colored anticommunist propaganda. An example of this is a statement by U.S. President Reagan to the effect that a dialogue with communists is possibly only from a position of strength, since "they," the communists, do not share "our" views concerning morality, do not believe in life after death and do not believe in God since they have no religion.

The U.S. president has declared a "crusade" against communism in order to create the appearance that he is not motivated by hatred toward communism but by belief in God and the desire to defend it against "Godless communism." These are unworthy methods, deeply immoral and insulting to the genuinely religious feelings of believing people because religion is being abused in a most unscrupulous way for dishonest purposes. And recently, speaking in the city of Orlando and expatiating on the future of children in America, Reagan said in particular: "It would be better if the children were to die now while continuing to believe in God than having them grow up under communism and die some time when they no longer believed in God...."

Communists deal understandingly in regard to the existence of religious views and decisively censure any insulting of the feelings of believers. But this does not at all mean a weakening of ideological contention with religion. It states in a decree of the June plenum: "It is necessary to more actively conduct dissemination of scientific-materialist views among the population and to pay more attention to atheistic education. To more broadly involve believers in public life and to more insistently introduce Soviet ceremonies."

Today believers themselves are against the abuse of religion for political purposes.

V.I. Lenin wrote that it is necessary to possess the ability to interest the masses in a conscious attitude toward religious questions and conscious criticism of religions. It is important to know the peculiarities of listeners in whom an interest should be created, to convince them to get rid of religious prejudices and to prove the correctness of the scientific-materialist viewpoint.

A significant feature of propagandizing atheism is tact, a calm and respectful tone and inadmissibility of insulting the personality of a religious person. We are not fighting against believers but for them, against religious prejudices and against ideological subversion in religious packaging.

It is necessary to constantly expose all manifestations and the social-class nature of clerical anticommunism, to convince the masses of the insolvency of antimarxist opinions of the role of religion and the church and to explain the intent of the policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state in regard to the question of overcoming religious ideology.

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CSO: 1830/219

## INTERNATIONAL

### HEBREW-LANGUAGE BROADCAST ON POSSIBILITY OF SOVIET-ISRAELI DIPLOMATIC TIES

TA091940 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew to Israel 1730 GMT 9 Mar 84

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Knowledgeable sources have leaked to the Israeli and international press that Yitzhaq Shamir has twice called on the Soviet Union to open contacts. The AP correspondent in Jerusalem reported that official elements have pointed out that Shamir's call reflects Israel's steadfast desire to develop friendly relations with the Soviet Union. According to the correspondent, an official who asked to remain anonymous said that if the Russians were in direct contact with Israel, this could have possibly contributed to easing tension in the Middle East.

In this context, it should be pointed out that all these reports reek as being intentional government leaks to launch a propaganda campaign. Nevertheless, it would also be proper to analyze the root of this problem: Is a direct Israeli-Soviet dialogue possible? The answer is certainly affirmative, but--in order to understand the meaning of this "but" and what sort of "but" this is all about--we should recall several historical facts:

The Soviet Union severed its diplomatic relations with Israel after the 1967 war, when the Israeli forces launched a sudden attack on the neighboring Arab states and occupied vast Arab territories. In the constellation that emerged at that time--and which is still developing in the region--the Soviet Union has been constantly working on establishing a just peace. The Soviet position was at the time described by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko in a news conference. We support the Arab cause, he said; we are in favor of peace in the Middle East and in favor of the State of Israel's sovereign existence. Nobody can complain to us that we have changed our position toward the State of Israel. When the United Nations held a discussion about the fate of Eretz Yisra'el, the Soviet Union voted in favor of establishing two independent states: The State of Israel and the Palestinian state.

This position has not changed even today. We do not agree with those extreme circles in the Arab world that preach for the destruction of Israel. This is an unrealistic and unjust position, Andrey Gromyko said. However, at the same time, we think that Israel must be a peace-seeking country living in good neighborly relations with the Arabs. We are in favor of such a state of Israel.



The impression has been created that the official Israeli circles are now talking about the need for direct contacts between Israel and the Soviet Union only in order to deviate public attention from the promotion of strategic cooperation between Israel and the United States. After all, it is known that the U.S.-Israeli alliance is directly aimed against the Soviet Union, against the sovereignty and interests of the peoples of the Middle East and Africa. It runs counter to the vital interest of the Israeli people whose territory is becoming a base for storing U.S. arms.

Those who point to Shamir's declarations must take into account the simple fact that it is impossible to get out of the political impasse in the Middle East by a military buildup and by escalating the tension. A just peace in the region may be achieved only if the IDF withdraws from all the Arab territories which have been occupied since 1967 and if the rights of all the countries and the peoples in the region, including the Israeli people and state, are guaranteed a sovereign and independent existence. All sorts of separate deals cannot bring about a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. The crisis in the region can only be solved through an international effort by summoning an international convention with the participation of the Soviet Union, the United States and all the interested parties, including the PLO as the legitimate and sole representative of the Arab Palestinian people.

CSO: 4423/41

## INTERNATIONAL

### BRIEFS

UZBEK RED CRESCENT AID TO ANGOLA--The Uzbek Red Crescent Society has received a letter from Angola written by (?Marianna Dolche), member of the MPLA-PT and commissar of Luanda District. It conveyed gratitude to Uzbek toilers for the international solidarity extended to Angola. The Uzbek Red Crescent Society has sent necessary pharmaceutical drugs and other very essential items to Angolan people, who have suffered from heavy (?floods). [Text] [GF141328 Tashkent International Service in Uzbek 1700 GMT 12 Mar 84]

CSO: 1836/36

PRESS HANDLING OF SUPREME SOVIET ELECTIONS OUTLINED

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 1, Jan 84 (signed to press 20 December 83)  
pp 45-47

[Article by Mikhail Fedotov, candidate in juridical sciences: "The Law Does Not Recognize Trifles: The Election Campaign in the Mirror of the Press"]

[Text] The editorial boards of newspapers and periodicals, television and radio broadcasting, and of publishing houses have to effect the systematic publication and transmission of materials and the publication of literature, posters, and visual agitation media devoted to the preparations for and holding of the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet. A vivid picture has to be given of the course of the election campaign and of the active participation in it of the workers, and accounts must be given of the candidates for deputyships. The best experience in the organizational and political work of party organizations in preparing for the elections has to be propagandized. Propaganda work must also be carried out on the Soviets and their agencies in accomplishing the most important economic and political tasks and in meeting the requirements of the population and the policy of the CPSU which is aimed at a further improvement of Soviet statehood, a deepening of socialist democracy, an expansion of the participation of the workers in the management of state and public affairs, and a strict compliance with Soviet laws which ensure the rights and interest of Soviet citizens. On the basis of concrete examples the popular and democratic character of the Soviets and the continuing strengthening of their connections with the population has to be disclosed.

From the decree of the CPSU Central Committee on the party organizations in connection with the preparations for and holding of elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation.

The period of the authority of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 10th Convocation, is coming to an end. Before us is a new election campaign. Many of the issues connected with the participation by the press in the preparations for and the holding of elections have been defined by law. For this reason, this is the very time now to begin to talk about how best, from the point of view of a legal expert, should the election campaign be treated in the press.

In preparing this article I carefully looked through the files of a number of central, oblast, rayon, and city newspapers relating to the time of the preparations for the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet of the present, 10th Convocation, that is, newspapers for December 1978–March 1979. Along with good quality materials devoted to the election campaign, one came upon weak publications containing legal errors. This is a matter, of course, of the past, and I am far from the thought of blaming anyone for past mistakes and inexactitudes. I simply want to extract some use from them for journalists, many of whom join in the treatment of the preparations for the elections to our supreme agency of state power.

The election campaign opens up in the press with the publication of the Ukaze on the designation of elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet and of lists of election districts for elections to the Council of the Union and Council of Nationalities. In the central press the lists are given in full, while in the local press they are given in the form of extracts with a specification of only those districts which are located on the territory of a given oblast, rayon, or city. It is important here to comply with the rule which has been established by law: both lists are published simultaneously with the Ukaze. Unfortunately, not all editorial boards fulfilled this rather uncomplicated requirement during the period of the last election campaign. Thus, the city newspaper INDUSTRIAL'NYY NAVOI (Uzbek SSR) of 19 December 1978 published the Ukaze on the setting of elections, but found place in its column only for the lists of election districts for elections to the Council of the Union. Only a day later did the reader become acquainted with the election districts for the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

This might seem to be a trifle.... But the election law, as, by the way, any other law, knows no trifles. All of the rules established by it are equally important and full of profound political meaning. In particular, the requirement for the simultaneous publication of lists of election districts for the country's Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union and Council of Nationalities expresses one of the basic principles of the organization and work of our supreme agency of state power—the constitutional principle of the equality of the chambers. Throughout our discussion we will repeatedly come up against similar details of election law. For this reason, I once again emphasize: there are no trifles in the law.

One of the initial stages of the election campaign is the formation of election commissions. The reader, of course, would like to know who it is that is nominated for them and how. Most of the newspapers try to meet this interest. For example, the rayon newspaper LENINSKAYA ISKRA (settlement of Glodyany, Moldavian SSR) reported on nine meetings of labor collectives for the nomination of representatives to the commissions, and published an essay on one of the members of the Central Election Commission. When it subse-



quently made public the composition of the election bodies, the editorial board demonstrated their genuinely popular and representative character. Other newspapers, on the contrary, passed over the process of the formation of the commission in silence, and published only the decisions approving their compositions. And although there is no direct violation of the laws in effect here, the constitutional principle of open publicity requires maximally extensive treatment of all of the stages of the election campaign.

But now the commissions have been established and have begun to work. The law requires that the population be informed about their meetings, decisions, and about the measures carried out by them. As is known, the election bodies themselves do not possess mass information media and, consequently, it is the obligation of the local press to help the commissions to bring the necessary information to citizens. Moreover, this is not only a moral obligation, but a legal one. The law binds all state and public agencies, enterprises, institutions, organizations, and officials to assist the election commissions in carrying out their authority. In the event that a commission addresses any agency or official, a reply must be given no later than within three days. These requirements of the law also affect, of course, the local press. If an election commission has sent it some kind of communication for publication, the editorial board must inform it no later than within a three-day period when the communication will be placed in the newspaper.

It is natural that editorial boards are very little inclined to fill their newspaper columns with "dry" official publications. The law helps journalists here. It grants them the right to be present at commission meetings. You strive to get live reporting from the site of an event? You need the "effect of being present"? Be my guest! But only do not let the "live reporting" give rise to mistakes and inaccuracies. Do not let an okrug election district be called a "city" one (GUDOK), an autonomous okrug—a "national" one (VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT), and do not permit information about the site of a commission to be published under the heading "Report on the Placement of Election Districts" (INDUSTRIAL'NYY NAVOI).

The candidates for deputyships are the chief heroes of the election campaign in the press. The press has the task of helping to see to it that the best representatives of the people are elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet, and, this means, it has to provide its pages for a free and thorough discussion of their political, practical, and personal qualities. In addition, the press is supposed to give readers the fullest possible information about candidates, information which will persuade them that a given comrade is capable of successfully coping with the duties of a Soviet deputy.

As a rule, a newspaper begins to acquaint its readers with a candidate in its report on a labor collective's pre-election meeting devoted to the advancing of the candidate. I will note that the publication of this material is legally mandatory. The law has stipulated that public organizations, labor collectives, and meetings of servicemen in military units are to inform the population through the press of people they have advanced as candidates for deputyships. The period within which this information has to be published in the newspaper is not established by the law.

After a candidate has been chosen other measures are carried out: various public organizations and labor collectives express their support of him, and his candidacy is discussed at an election district pre-election meeting. And although the law does not charge the press here, as a rule, newspapers provide extensive treatment of these events also.

In a word, a lot of materials are published, but there are plenty of "holes" in them. At the pre-election meetings and election district conferences, for example, fiduciaries of the candidates for deputyship are elected. However, frequently it is impossible to find out from newspaper reports who has been elected and what kind of commissions have been given to him. But a fiduciary is someone who acquaints the electors with the candidate--he is the candidate's authorized representative.

In addition, addresses and appeals to the voters are adopted at the election district conferences. Some press organs publish the texts of these addresses in full (for example, the rayon newspaper MAYAK SYSOLY of the Komi ASSR), while others provide a brief exposition of them. In most cases the reader is informed only of the fact of their adoption. It would seem to me that who else, if not the local press is to bring the meaning of these documents to the population. Appearing substantially in advance of the publication of the corresponding posters and leaflets, the publication of these addresses and appeals in the newspapers will strengthen their agitational influence.

And then there is this "hole." At the pre-election meetings the voters give instructions to the future deputies. In the last election campaign to the USSR Supreme Soviet the local press rarely mentioned these instructions, and it did not provide an exposition of their content. I am convinced that this kind of practice does not correspond to the enormous role which is played by instructions in the life of our society as one of the forms of realizing democracy, expressing the will and interest of the population, and of the direct participation of citizens in the management of state affairs. By giving a sufficiently detailed account during the course of the election campaign of the instructions which have been given to the future deputy a newspaper, in my opinion, will thereby create a splendid basis for subsequent publications devoted to the implementation of the instructions.

The registration of candidates for deputyships--an important stage in the election campaign--takes place under conditions of extensive publicity. The law stipulates that no later than the third day after the event there must be a mandatory publication in the press of reports on the registration with a specification of data on the candidate.

Representatives of the press may be present during registration. The results of their visits to commission meetings become letters from correspondents and reports which give an account of the atmosphere that held sway during the registration, and about the statements of representatives of the public. It is from such materials which are received from telegraph agencies or editorial board workers that the reader, as a rule, finds out about the event. Thus, the Brest oblast newspaper ZARYA announced the registration of 19 candidates, making use of information from BELTA; KUTAISSKAYA PRAVDA reported the registration of two candidates in reports by its correspondents.

But this kind of journalistic material should, in my view, supplement, and not substitute for official information from the district election commissions. During the last election campaign certain newspapers (for example, the rayon ZA KOMMUNIZM from the Mary ASSR) combined in a single column official communiques and reports. This kind of combination made it possible to exactly fulfill the requirement of the law without detriment to the "readability" of the newspaper.

A few words about pre-election agitation for candidates. Of course, it is not for me, a legal specialist, to teach journalists how it is necessary to agitate. For this reason, I shall consider some purely legal issues. First: beginning with what moment may the agitation for a candidate for a deputyship be begun? The Regulation on Elections which was in effect until July 1978 gave the reply: only after the registration of the district election commission. The law has now removed this restriction, and today agitation for a candidate is possible beginning with the moment of his nomination by a public organization, labor collective, or meeting of servicemen. Unfortunately, at the last election to the USSR Supreme Soviet quite a few editorial boards operated in the old manner. But many mastered the innovation. For example, the city newspaper MEDNOGORSKIY RABOCHIY from Orenburg Oblast published sketches of the candidates at the same time that it contained reports about their nomination. The experience of the city newspaper VPERED (city of Roven'ki, Ukrainian SSR) is noteworthy: the report from a labor collective's pre-election meeting was supplied by the editors with a photo portrait of the candidate. This method was also used subsequently: photographs of the candidate accompanied the report on the election district conference and on his meeting with voters.

A second question: may the candidate himself appear in the press? The law replies: all candidates for deputyships to the USSR Supreme Soviet have an equal right from the time of their registration by election district commissions to participate and speak at pre-election meetings, conferences, in the press, and on television and radio. State and public agencies, and the leaders of enterprises, institutions, and organizations located on the territory of the election district are obliged to provide the candidate with assistance in organizing meetings with voters, holding pre-election large-scale meetings, and in obtaining the necessary reference and information materials. In my opinion, the necessity follows from this point of the law for the editorial boards of local newspapers to provide candidates with assistance in "making the page" and for ensuring a literary transcription and editing of what he writes. The candidate's appearance in the newspaper may take the form of an interview. But it is important to remember that he receives the right to appear in the press as a candidate only after registration by the district election commission. The editorial board of the Roven'ki city newspaper VPERED missed this "detail" which has been established by the law and published an article by a candidate for deputyship before his registration.

The example of agitation in the newspaper VPERED for the candidate for deputyship is in general noteworthy. It published his photograph four times, wrote three times about him and his team, and gave a detailed exposition of



his speech at a meeting with voters. But here is the trouble.... While it devoted so much energy to agitation for the candidate who had been nominated for the Council of the Union, the newspaper completely forgot about the candidate for the Council of Nationalities, reporting neither about his nomination, nor his registration, nor his meetings with voters.

It must not be forgotten that the law guarantees every citizen the right to participate in pre-election agitation. Many realize this right by carrying out the honorary public duties of agitator. But even someone who is not a member of an agitation collective is able to express his opinion about the candidates, in particular, on the pages of the press. For example, during the last campaign for elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet IZVESTIYA repeatedly made its pages available for a discussion by ordinary voters of the political, practical, and personal qualities of candidates for deputyships. This kind of practice has developed also in certain local newspapers. Thus, MEDNOGORSKIY RABOCHIY repeatedly published letters from readers calling upon the population to give their votes for the candidates to deputyships.

Much has been written about the work of agitators, agitation points, and voters' clubs. Certain newspapers (for example, INDUSTRIAL'NYY NA'VOI) have practiced the holding of inspection raids at agitation points to check on the readiness of election wards for the elections. The rubric "From Election to Election" became especially popular during those days. Under it materials of different genres were published showing the tremendous changes which had occurred during the period of the activities of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the previous convocation in the life of the rayon, oblast, republic, and the entire country. Finally, the press informs the population about the borders of election wards, the location of the commissions and the voting sites, and the place and time when an acquaintance could be made with voter lists.

The press is active as a readers' consultant on election law. In practically all of the local newspapers, not to mention the central ones, there have regularly been articles explaining the principles of the Soviet election system and of the organization and work of the USSR Supreme Soviet, as well as the powers of the people's deputies. For example, the Roven'ki city newspaper VPERED published a series of this kind under the heading "Talks With Voters." It seems to me, however, that voters, especially young ones, need also to be told about the concrete details of our election system, particularly about the rules of voting: about the fact that every voter votes personally, that the ballot is filled out in a booth or room designed for secret voting, and that in filling out the ballot the voter indicates the name of the candidate for whom he is voting.

The elections are the culminating point of the entire election campaign. They are given extensive treatment in the press. The reader learns from numerous articles, reports, interviews, and letters about the kinds of thoughts and feelings with which voters are going into the elections. Thanks to the help of workers' and rural correspondents, local newspapers succeed, as a rule, in giving a picture of the course of voting in most election wards. However, this kind of wide enlistment of an aktiv sometimes has a dark side: the lack of knowledge by certain writers of some of the points of the election laws results in errors and inaccuracies.



First of all, a few words about terminology. During the course of the last campaign for elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet in some newspapers (for example, in the rayon newspaper ZA KOMMUNIZM from the Mary ASSR) the members of the electoral commissions which issue the ballots were called "registrars." The law does not recognize such an office. Where did it come from? From conversational speech, of course. This is also the origin of "detachment stubs" which in fact turn out to be voting rights certificates, and of "urns" which are ballot boxes. I am convinced that far from everything which has taken root in the conversational language is suitable for our newspaper columns. Especially when it is a matter of juridical questions in which every word has a strictly defined meaning. By using terminology which is customary in the law a journalist will not intimidate his reader. On the contrary, he will enlighten him and compel him to review his legal vocabulary. And a correct use of juridical terms is very important for the development of the population's legal culture.

Now about what election day begins with in the election wards--the examination and sealing of the ballot boxes. Representatives of the press have the right to be present during this procedure. The law has granted journalists this possibility so that they could have the knowledge to be able to tell readers that from the very beginning the voting has taken place in full and strictest compliance with the law, thus ensuring a correct expression of the will of the voters.

In some cities and rayons brief, "flying" voters' meetings are held before the beginning of the voting. "In accordance with good old tradition," the rayon newspaper LENINSKAYA ISKRA (Moldavian SSR) wrote in one of its reports, "the elections began with a meeting." The writer did not regard it as necessary to say where exactly the meeting took place (at an agitation point, in the open air, and so forth), and the reader, naturally, received the impression that it was organized directly in the voting hall. This is just what MEDNOGORSKIY RABOCHIY reported: "Crowded voters' meetings took place in the election wards." But the fact is that not a single electoral commission would permit such an event to take place in a voting hall. The law establishes: "The conducting of agitation on election day at a site designated for voting is impermissible." Such is real practice which is distorted in some newspaper materials on account of incompleteness and inaccuracy.

But the voting has begun. Frequently this process has had the following appearance on the pages of local newspapers: "One after another the voters took the ballots and dropped them in the urns" (LENINSKAYA ISKRA). Gliding along the surface, the writer's view did not come into contact with the very essence of the event--the election. Left out of the "film" was the acquainting of the voters with the text of the ballots, the ensuring of secrecy, and many other fundamentally important details which characterize the democratic nature of the process of the formation of the country's supreme agency of state power.

In addition, some journalists have compelled the heroes of their reports to utter entire speeches directly in front of the voting box about whom they have voted for. For example, in the rayon newspaper AVANGARD (Krasnoyarsk Kray) the voter is given the floor in the following manner: "Dropping his

ballot in the urn, he says...." I am more than sure that what we have here is only an unsuccessful journalistic device and that in fact the correspondent interviewed the voter as he was leaving the voting hall. Why not write it the way it was in reality? The meaning of a voter's statements would not change because of this, and no one would have any doubts about the observance of the constitutional principle of the secret ballot.

There are also other inaccuracies in the treatment of voting. For example, INDUSTRIAL'NYY NAVOI reported that "at 18:30 the election wards had almost concluded the voting." A reader who is well acquainted with the election law will naturally be perplexed: after all, a single time for completing the elections has been established for the entire country--10 o'clock in the evening local time. Voting can be completed earlier than that only at election wards which have been formed on ships at sea, in military units, and in remote and inaccessible areas. The author should have written it up as it was in reality: at 18:30 almost all of the voters in the lists had cast their votes at the election wards.

Frequently in reports from election wards one encounters an error which might be called running ahead. Thus, the rayon newspaper MAYAK SYSOLY from the Komi ASSR placed words in the mouth of the chairman of the electoral commission to the effect that two hours after the beginning of the voting 50 percent of the voters had already cast their votes for the candidates for the deputyships. In reality, we could only be talking about the number of citizens who participated in the elections. For whom they cast their votes becomes clear only after 10 o'clock in the evening when the voting boxes are opened and the vote count is performed. Until that moment there is no information at all about the number of voters who have voted for candidates, nor can there be since control over the expression of the will of voters is not permitted.

But now the elections have been concluded. The votes are counted at meetings of the electoral commissions, and results are determined. Representatives of the press have a right to be present here so as to be able later to tell their readers in all detail how the voting boxes are opened, how unused ballots are cancelled, how the number of votes given "for" and "against" each candidate is determined, and how the results of the elections in the district are established. There is only one formality: the names of the journalists who are present are entered in a special list which is appended to the commission's protocols.

Readers are informed about the results of the elections on a countrywide scale by the central and republic and local newspapers. I think that it would be interesting for the population to find out about the results of the elections specifically in those elections districts which are located on the territory of a given rayon or city. The presence of journalists when the election results are established at a meeting of the district electoral commission creates splendid possibilities for this. The final information on the voting results in a district could be reported in a report from the concluding meeting of the district electoral commission where the deputy is issued his election certificate.

And so, the next elections for the USSR Supreme Soviet will soon come up. In my view, the editorial boards of local newspapers ought to give themselves a bit of trouble beforehand in order to see to it that the treatment of the course of the election campaign is juridically more accurate and competent. They should ask advice from responsible workers from the ispolkoms and from the chairmen and secretaries of district electoral commissions. But the Law on Elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet has to become the chief counselor for the journalist writing about the election campaign.

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## NATIONAL

### ZNANIYE SOCIETY VIEWS LECTURE WORK, ANNOUNCES 1984 CONFERENCE

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIY in Russian No 11, Nov 83 (signed to press 18 Aug 83) pp 7-9

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Y. Fishevskiy, board deputy chairman, "Znaniye" All-Union Society : "To the Level of Today's Tasks"]

[Text] "All our ideological, educational and propaganda work," said General Secretary of the CPSU CC Yu. V. Andropov at the CPSU CC June 1983 plenum, "must be resolutely raised to the level of the important and complex tasks being resolved by the party in the process of perfecting developed socialism."

This directive must become the key, the determining factor in every aspect of the work conducted by "Znaniye" organizations' lecturers.

I will not cover all the activities - and they are, without exaggeration, an immense undertaking - of "Znaniye" society organizations: I will discuss only one very important facet of our work.

The proceedings and the decree of the CPSU CC plenum stress the need to conduct more active propaganda work among the population in favor of the scientific, materialistic world outlook, to pay more attention to atheistic education, remembering that no small part of the Soviet people remains under the influence of religion. We are conducting this atheistic propaganda in an ambience of sharp ideological struggle. Hostile propaganda distorts the true status of religion, church, and believers in our country, strives to destroy the unity between believers and nonbelievers and to imbue religion with an anti-Soviet, nationalistic spirit.

The propaganda of scientific atheism has always occupied an important place in the activities of "Znaniye" organizations, and does so today. In November 1981 the presidium of the board of "Znaniye" issued a decree "On measures to further intensify the propaganda of scientific atheism." In implementing it the Atheistic Education section of the board and the society's field organizations put in a great deal of work to improve our scientific atheistic propaganda, to heighten its quality and effectiveness. In particular, measures were taken to strengthen the



organizational structure of our Scientific-Methodological councils and Scientific Atheism Propaganda sections, and these in turn carried out the certification of atheism lecturers. We have taken to inviting more philosophy scholars, natural scientists, physicians, law experts, culture and art workers to participate in various forms of atheistic work. This is not done merely to achieve a formal increase in the number of propaganda cadres, but to encompass as wide a range as possible of the most important problems in the process of atheistic and ideological education. Because today there are practically no issues that to a greater or lesser degree are not linked with ideology and atheism.

The organizational measures produced positive results fairly quickly. Thus, there was a significant increase, almost 20 percent, in the number of atheism lectures, their content and thematic thrust improved. Our people now devote more attention to the study and propaganda of the atheistic heritage of K. Marx, F. Engels and V.I. Lenin as well as of the policies pursued by the Soviet state and the CPSU with regard to religion, church and believers, more in-depth explanations are given to the articles of the USSR Constitution that deal with freedom of conscience, to the issue of moral education and the exposition of the real material and spiritual values of developed socialism. The role of the natural sciences in the shaping of a scientific materialistic world outlook has expanded. Many organizers practice a comprehensive approach to the propaganda of scientific atheistic knowledge, coordinating it with ideological, political, labor, moral, internationalist and patriotic education.

The boards of "Znaniye" societies in the union republics have issued annotated lists of topics and catalogues of lectures on scientific atheism which are delivered in specific regions. Most of these lectures take the local situation into account, the questions usually asked at atheism lectures are carefully analyzed. All this serves not only to improve our propaganda, but to better satisfy audience interest as well. Neither is previously-gained experience forgotten.

The tendency in "Znaniye" organizations over the last few years has been to switch from one-time lectures to systematic forms of propaganda (lecture cycles, lecture-hall courses, cinelecture series, people's universities of scientific atheism, schools of basic knowledge regarding nature, society and man, etc.). Thus, in the Ukraine lecture cycles are being conducted in close to 3000 auditoriums, and 108 lecture cycles have been organized in Tadzhikistan. The scientific atheism aktiv of Moscow is presently conducting eight all-Union cycles. Currently enrolled in 1562 people's universities and faculties of scientific atheism are 132,000 students.

The practical experience of the best people's universities proves that they can successfully conduct their activities among the population. It is worth noting that atheism-related subjects are now being inserted into the curriculae of people's universities of other specializations.

It should at the same time be noted, however, that in spite of their effectiveness these forms of work have not been adopted everywhere.

An important role in the atheistic education of the population belongs to schools for basic knowledge of nature, society and man. Their creation was pioneered 20 years ago by the atheists of Belorussia. Today these schools are very popular in many oblasts. They offer a two-year course which acquaints students with scientific theories about the world and its laws, the development of society and about man.

The academic program is constructed in a way that allows organically combining the formation of scientific concepts with the shedding of a religious outlook. The student is given to see that atheism is inseparably linked with our life. That is why information on the internal and international situation, the state of affairs in the oblast, rayon, neighborhood, village and production collective has become an integral part of the curriculum in many of these schools. This tends to draw the students into public life, to raise the level of their general education.

The CPSU CC plenum stressed the need to conduct propaganda work differentially, taking into consideration the peculiarities of various groups of the population. We have amassed some interesting experience in this respect. Thus, the "Znaniye" organizations of the Lithuanian SSR offer special lecture cycles for young people: "The philosophical problems of mathematics," "Science and religion about the earth," "Our cultural heritage and atheism," "Man and the world" and others. Popular with school children and students in Alma-Ata are cinelecture series which are held in the central movie houses of the city. Atheistic youth clubs imeni Yaroslav Galan are now widespread in the Ukraine.

"Znaniye" organizations in the Kirghiz SSR have found interesting forms of work with children, juveniles, working youth and young students. There is hardly a school in the republic which does not have a young atheists' club, atheistic nooks, wall newspapers, various stands and photowindows devoted to criticism of religion and the promotion of a scientific world outlook. Special attention is given to atheistic work among the older generation by "Znaniye" organizations in the Kazakh, Kirghiz and Tadjik SSR's. "Rural knowledge-seeking clubs" have been created and now function successfully in Kazakhstan, in Kirgizia herdsman in the mountain pastures are regularly visited by atheism brigades working in conjunction with the automobile club "Atheist," interesting atheistic work is being conducted among rural aksakals (old men) in Tadjikistan.

But even here, as I see it, very much more can be done. It is well and good that we are conducting educational work among the elderly, but we must also utilize in full measure the huge moral and spiritual potential of our veterans. They should be encouraged to take part in the moral upbringing of youth, to prove by deed that, on the one hand, we need them very much, and on the other--that they have not been forgotten.

A significant factor in overcoming religious sentiment among women in Turkmenia is the joint work of the "Znaniye" society and the Women's councils. Universally popular is the traveling oral magazine "Gul'shat" in whose creation the republic board of "Znaniye" had a hand. Among those who participate in its activities are prominent scientists, culture and art workers, teachers and outstanding workers. One of the magazine's pages is devoted to criticism of religious customs and ceremonies and the promotion of socialist traditions and rituals.

Credit must also be given to Houses of Scientific Atheism for their very able atheistic propaganda. Thus, the Republic House of Scientific Atheism of the Uzbek SSR and its oblast subsidiaries last year organized 640 question-and-answer sessions with a total attendance of 85,000 persons. About 200 republic, oblast, city and rayon discussion seminars and conferences were held, as well as many other related ventures at industrial enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, VUZes and secondary schools.

There are interesting aspects to the work of Houses of Scientific Atheism in other republics, krays and oblasts of the country too.

The efficacy of atheistic propaganda depends in very large measure on the lecturers, their knowledge, ability and dedication. That is why "Znaniye" organizations attach such importance to the training of highly qualified cadres of atheism propagandists. Functioning in a number of republics are two-year republic schools which turn out atheism lecturers.

Good results have also been achieved by continuously functioning republic seminars and periodic conferences on topical problems of science-based atheistic propaganda. Thus, the seminars conducted by the board of the "Znaniye" society of the RSFSR: "The twenty-sixth congress of the CPSU and the tasks of science-based atheistic propaganda," "The Constitution of the USSR and freedom of conscience," "The oneness of internationalist and atheistic propaganda," "Religion and the current ideological struggle," "The place and role of socialist ritual in the communist education of the toiling masses," "Unmasking hostile religious propaganda and the tasks of atheistic education"--played a significant role in the training of atheism cadres. The board of the "Znaniye" society of the Latvian SSR also conducted a number of seminars and conferences which came up with concrete proposals for improving the propaganda of atheism.

There are some noteworthy achievements in other republics too in the matter of training and retraining lecturers. The forms are quite diversified: zonal and subdivision seminars, schools for young lecturers, people's universities. One aspect of our work in this area can probably be considered a shortcoming--inadequate promotion and dissemination of field-proven methods, as well as unsatisfactory control and follow-up

on graduates of various courses, seminars, etc. I say this because it is no secret that many students subsequently do not take part in the propaganda of scientific atheism.

The all-Union board of "Znaniye" recently approved a plan for training atheism lecturers in the Ukraine. This work is unfolding in the following basic directions: training young lecturers and improving the scientific and methodological qualifications of veteran lecturers. Propagandists starting out in the atheistic propaganda field are invited to enroll at people's universities, scientific atheism faculties, schools for young lecturers run by the VUZes of the republic and night universities of Marxism-Leninism.

Lecturers of oblast, city and rayon standing as well as workers of some primary "Znaniye" organizations are given qualification improvement training at permanently functioning two-year schools, departments of correspondence course qualification improvement affiliated to philosophy chairs in liberal arts VUZes and at two-year interVUZ seminars.

Especially to be commended is the organization of two-year correspondence course sections for atheism lecturers under the philosophy faculty of Kiev University imeni T.G. Shevchenko, and at liberal arts VUZes in Vinnitsa, Donetsk, Ivano-Frankovsk, L'vov, Odessa, Royno and Uzhgorod.

Active in the republic is a permanently functioning seminar for atheism lecturers with a five-year program. Such seminars are operative in oblast centers, as well as in towns and rayons. A mandatory feature of these seminars is Lecturer's Day when every seminar participant, along with local lecturers, speaks before labor collectives and takes part in lecture analysis.

Every other year the republic board of "Znaniye" conducts two-day discussion seminars with the chairmen and experts of local scientific-methodological councils and of scientific atheism propaganda sections. This helps to improve the qualifications of the actual organizers of scientific-atheism propaganda. Also practiced are week-long working assignments of lecturers and oblast organization staff members with the republic board.

A very important instrument of atheistic education is the introduction of new holidays and rituals. The activization of these efforts in our country began not too long ago, but much has been achieved already. It is gratifying to note that among the enthusiasts of this course are many propagandists from the all-Union society of "Znaniye".

The subject of consolidating the new rituals is currently being given increasing prominence in lectures devoted to the Soviet way of life, to atheism issues, moral problems and so on. In their discourses "Znaniye" lecturers trace the evolution of holidays and rituals, illumine their essence, specific features and content in a developed socialist society.



With that they always stress that the most important facet of socialist holiday and rituals is the ideological and educational: through them Soviet people are drawn into the orbit of Marxist-Leninist ideology, a scientific materialistic world outlook and socialist spiritual values.

Experience has shown that wherever the introduction of new, socialist rituals is handled as a matter of importance the church soon loses its influence.

But here too we still have a lot of work cut out for us. It must, for example, be admitted that the propaganda of new rituals is not always systematic in character. Publications on its educational significance are as yet few and far between, there is a shortage of methodological literature and visual aids on the subject, and we do not have enough lecturers with a good grip on the topic.

We must devote more attention to the publication of atheistic literature. The "Znaniye" publishing house puts out 12 brochures a year in the subscription series "Scientific Atheism." Each issue contains materials on the most pressing themes. The brochures' authors are prominent scientists who specialize in the field. It goes without saying that they are invaluable aids for propagandists of scientific atheism, but it is time to start thinking of substantially improving the quality of those aids for atheism lecturers that are published locally.

Over the past few years the boards of republic, kray and oblast "Znaniye" organizations have devoted more effort to improving the organization and enriching the content of atheistic propaganda. At board presidium meetings many of them discussed the state and the urgent problems relating to the propaganda of scientific atheism in the modern age.

In July 1982, in the course of "Znaniye" society's 8th all-Union congress, the Atheistic Education section met in session, with about 200 delegates and guests attending. The session discussed ten scientific reports and speeches on topical issues in atheistic education, reviewed and approved proposals on further improving the propaganda of science-based atheistic knowledge.

However, the thematic thrust of that propaganda must be brought up to par. Not always promptly illuminated, for example, are the latest achievements in the theory and practice of scientific atheism, the modernization of religion itself is not given the attention it deserves. The subject matter and content of many lectures are not linked to the socioeconomic, scientific, technical and cultural goals of communist construction. Some lectures do not quite measure up theoretically and methodologically, do not carry the optimal ideological payload, disregard the specific character of the audience and the situation with regard to religiousness in the given locality.

One of the main reasons for these shortcomings is lackadaisical control over the quality of the lectures. The reviewer groups in the scientific atheism propaganda sections and methodological councils of some "Znaniye" organizations produce low quality work, and there are cases where these groups do not even exist. The numerous reviews that are put out are often superficial and specious.

I will stress once again: The organizations of the all-Union society "Znaniye" have a big job to do in the matter of improving the propaganda of scientific atheism. The joint plenum, held last June, of the all-Union and RSFSR boards of the "Znaniye" society and the Central Council of people's universities underlined the importance of atheistic education and the need to closely coordinate this work with labor, ideological, political and moral education.

The same topic was discussed at plenums convened in the union republics. Thus, the plenum of the board of "Znaniye" in the Ukraine deemed it advisable to intensify lecture propaganda in population centers with above average religiousness. A decision was also taken to supply the society's oblast, city and rayon organizations with methodological literature on ways to improve atheistic propaganda.

The tasks stemming from the proceedings and the decisions adopted by the June plenum of the CPSU CC were discussed at a meeting of the bureau of our all-Union board's Atheistic Education section. A detailed plan of measures to implement the directives of the plenum was drawn up. We resolved to undertake a special study in a number of republics and oblasts of the thematic thrust, ideological and theoretical level and the quality and efficacy of lectures on scientific atheism, as well as of the training of atheism lecturers in light of the plenum's decree, and to render practical assistance in drawing up the necessary recommendations. The question of utilizing the findings of the natural sciences to shape a materialistic world outlook will be discussed with the Natural Science sections. No less important is the question of enlarging the role of literature and art in atheistic education. A scientific and practical conference will be called to discuss "The role of "Znaniye" society organizations in the propaganda and incorporation into life of new socialist rituals and traditions."

Earmarked for 1984 is an all-Union scientific and methodological conference on "Problems of improving the quality and efficacy of lecture propaganda in light of the guidelines laid down by the June (1983) plenum of the CPSU CC, at which issues relating to atheistic education will most certainly be debated.

We plan on utilizing in full measure the possibilities of the Central House of Scientific Atheism which has drafted an extensive program for implementing the decisions adopted by the June (1983) plenum of the CPSU CC. A new thematic list of lectures has been prepared, as well

as of lecture hall series, cinelectures, oral journals, thematic evenings and question-and-answer sessions for the most diverse audiences. Earmarked for publication are methodological aids and recommendations for organizers of atheistic work with youth, individual work with believers, and others. The Central House of Scientific Atheism is to receive workers of republic, kray and oblast Houses and Parlors of Scientific Atheism sent down on working assignments.

The Central Lecture Hall will continue the lecture cycle "Topical problems in the atheistic education of the toiling masses." Broader ties are planned with highly qualified atheism lecturers from Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and other scientific centers--more of them will be invited to speak at labor collectives and in local "Znaniye" organizations.

We also plan to issue an analytical review of atheistic literature published in the republics, krays and oblasts, a minilibrary series "Socialist rituals and their role in the communist education of the toiling masses," a series of brochures on the practical aspect of atheistic work, an annotated thematic list of lectures and talks and a curriculum for people's universities of scientific atheism.

In short, there is much work to be done.

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PATIENT ANTIRELIGIOUS WORK WINS TRUST OF JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES

[Editorial Report] Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 2, February 1984 (signed to press 27 December 1983) on pages 5-10 carries a 3,000-word article titled "An Education Through Kindness" by V. Zybkovets and V. Shevelev. The article is an account of the last 17 years of atheistic work at School No 14 in Nevinnomyssk in the Kuban. With the construction of a new chemical industrial complex 17 years ago, the town experienced an influx of new workers, among whom were a group of unregistered Jehovah's Witnesses. A variety of school officials and teachers provide reminiscences: all praise the patient, slow process of winning trust and proving to the parents of the new pupils that the school was in the best interests of the children. One official notes the tragic "doubleness" of a child's life if his parents are believers: "The mutual relationship of school and family--where the parents believe in God, always turns out to be complex. Willingly or unwillingly it turns out that the school teaches the child one thing and the parents teach him another." Although the director of the school recalls the great difficulties at first, he notes that the influx of stubborn believers forced him and his teachers to choose a new way of atheistic propaganda. This new way is characterized by patient and persistent efforts, visits to the home, personal contact between teacher and parent. One observer notes that the Jehovah's Witnesses respect hard work--even quoting one of their samizdat texts--and suggests that atheistic work should begin by building on the areas of agreement between the believer and the school. Others tell of how math and science were used to disprove the claims of the Bible. According to the authors, the "invisible wall" which once stood between the unregistered Jehovah's Witnesses and the school has now come down: the school definitely has won the confidence of the children and their parents.

APOSTATE ORTHODOX PRIEST TELLS OF HIS CONVERSION TO ATHEISM

[Editorial Report] Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 1, January 1984 (signed to press 25 November 1983) on pages 28-31 and No 2, February 1984 (signed to press 27 December 1983) on pages 26-29 carries a 6,000-word series titled "Returning to the Truth" by A. K. Samostyak, a former Orthodox priest from the Ukraine. The author tells his life story and explains his slow and painstaking "awakening to the truth that there is no God." Samostyak broke with the Orthodox Church in 1965, crediting the advice and support of A. Osipov, himself a former priest and atheist



lecturer. Samostyak addresses himself to his former parishioners, telling them "to look around, and reflect upon what you believe. Do not deceive yourselves. There is no life beyond the grave."

#### NEW BOOK ATTACKS CHURCH ACCOUNTS OF CONVERSION OF RUSSIA

[Editorial Report] Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 1, January 1984 (signed to press 25 November 1983) on pages 15-18 and No 2, February 1984 (signed to press 27 December 1983) on pages 30-33 carries a 5,600-word excerpt from N. Gordiyenko's "The 'Baptism' of Russia: Facts Versus Legends" [forthcoming from Lenizdat]. The first excerpt deals with the question of the church's contribution to Russian culture, refuting the claims of religious leaders and theologians that "Russian Orthodoxy defined the historical path, the historical essence of Russia." Gordiyenko claims that many of the cultural contributions of the church are in fact contributions of the pre-Christian pagan culture which the church simultaneously suppressed and adapted to its own needs. Gordiyenko notes the non-Christian character of "The Song of Igor's Campaign" and that the "Chronicle of Bygone Years"--ostensibly a Christian source--is replete with folk tales, legends, and native literary forms. Gordiyenko seeks to demonstrate that pre-Christian Russia [Kievan Rus] had a viable, interesting, and vital culture. "Returning to pre-Christian Russia and properly illuminating its features are not simply a tribute owed to our interest in the past or the satisfaction of our curiosity. They are absolutely essential for overturning the theological fabrications which are entwined in our history." The second article deals exclusively with the ancient chronicle accounts of the conversion of Russia, demonstrating that the story of the Apostle Andrew's visit to Russia is a myth told for the sake of legitimizing Russia's Christianity (despite its rather late conversion to the faith), and that the story of St Vladimir's comparison of the various faiths and denominations is little more than the church's attempt to mask a purely political decision in the cloaks of reason and divine providence.

CSO: 1830/225

## REGIONAL

### UZBEK CC BUREAU DISCUSSES AGRICULTURE

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 1 Feb 84 p 1

[Article: "In the Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] At a regularly scheduled meeting, the Buro of the Uzbek CP Central Committee discussed pressing problems related to preparations for the spring. It was noted that the results of last year indicated the presence of great possibilities and unutilized resources to increase per hectare yields. Activating them would mean the assurance of a substantial increase in the productivity of agricultural production, and increase its contributions to the implementation of the Production Program.

The assurance of timely and high quality preparation for spring field work is a top priority and pressing problem for the managers of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, ministries and departments that make up the agro-industrial complex. In accordance with the resolutions of the December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, they are faced with the task to increase the responsibility of agricultural workers for a significant improvement in the utilization both of the already existing material-technical base and of newly allocated resources from the state to meet these objectives.

Crop distribution must be carried out in strict accordance with crop rotation plans so as to meet the level of production defined by the decree of the Uzbek CP Central Committee and the Soviet of Ministers of the Uzbek SSR. There are lags in this regard in a number of areas and it is essential that these be eliminated rapidly. It is necessary to accelerate the preparation of the seed stock for cotton plants and to deliver them to farming operations in accordance with the sowing plan in terms of strains and germinating rates. The Buro noted that at a number of farms insufficient attention is being devoted to laying in supplies of local fertilizers. It has been found that it is advisable to form soil-fertilizing detachments in every kolkhoz and sovkhoz, to outfit them with equipment and transportation, and implement progressive forms of compensation.

Special attention was devoted to the situation in the repairing and preparation of equipment. The Buro directed Goskomsel'khoshtekhnika and the corresponding ministries and departments to mobilize all forces and resources for the more rapid completion of repair work, and to improve the supplying of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes with spare parts and other materials so that by 1 March all machinery can be ready to roll.



## REGIONAL

### TASHKENT CHEMISTRY INSTITUTE RECEIVES AWARD

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 2 Feb 84 p 1

[Article from UzTAG: "Institute Receives Award"]

[Text] The Chemistry Institute of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences is 50 years old. On 1 February in Tashkent there was a ceremonial gathering devoted to the presentation to the collective of this institute of a diploma from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR which it has earned by its services in the development of the chemical sciences in the republic, the implementation of these advances in the national economy, the preparation of highly qualified research personnel, and in connection with the anniversary.

This prestigious award was presented by T. N. Osetrov, second secretary of the Central Committee of Uzbekistan's Communist Party.

At this gathering it was pointed out that the basic research of the institute has become the basis for the implementation in the national economy of many scientific developments which have had a significant economic impact. They have found application not only in Uzbekistan and its neighboring republics, but abroad as well. A large number of specialists have been trained here who are now working successfully in various scientific research institutes, institutions of higher education and in enterprises throughout the country.

U.U. Umarov, first secretary of the Tashkent Gorkom of the communist party of Uzbekistan was present at the award ceremonies.

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## REGIONAL

### CURRENT KAZAKH DRAMA LABELED IRRELEVANT

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 83 p 4

[Article by K. Mukhamedzhanov, secretary, Kazakhstan Writers Union Board, Alma-Ata: "The Theaters Are Waiting for Playwrights"]

[Excerpt] Two years ago, a comprehensive discussion took place at a meeting in Alma-Ata in which distinguished playwrights from Moscow spoke about the main problems of contemporary Kazakh dramaturgy.

A critical, concerned discussion on the state of our dramaturgy again took place recently in Alma-Ata at a republic conference-seminar conducted jointly with the drama council of the USSR Union of Writers and the repertoire board of the USSR Ministry of Culture.

Today, artistic works that are in tune with the spirit of our age are urgently needed. It is impossible to write a truly talented artistic work without creative emotion and internal preparation. The goal cannot be reached just with a surplus in the number of written works. Filtration, the selection of the best, is the direct responsibility of the repertoire-editorial board of the republic Ministry of Culture and the drama section of the Union of Writers.

A good tradition is being revived: to discuss more or less significant plays first of all in a section of the Union of Writers. A year ago, at a "round table" conference of playwrights, 12 authors, including Al'zhappar Abishev and Abdil'da Tazhibayev, presented programs to the drama council.

In the last theater season, there were more than 10 new productions on the stages of republic theaters of these plays: "Crossword" by S. Zhunusov, "The Heirs" by D. Isabekov, "Call of Margau" by S. Shaymerdenov, "Sale of a Beard" by K. Murzaliy, "The Risk" by R. Seysenbayev, and "The Explosion" by M. Sarsekeyev...Of the plays that have been accepted by the repertoire board and are waiting to be staged, the following can be noted: "Khan-Tengri" and "It is My Destiny" by A. Tarazi, "A Mangyshlak Story" by B. Amanshin, "Three Dialogues" by T. Abdikov, "A Bottle of Eau de Cologne" by S. Sanbayev, "A Game of Books" by O. Boranbayev, "Mayor Maydanov" by A. Shamkenov, and others.

The list of names indicates the fact that the overwhelming majority of authors are young creative forces. In spite of the well-known saying, "Young is green",

we expect that this very youth will be the future of our dramaturgy. So far, the priority belongs to the "old guard." The first of the 12 authors who brought their work to the attention of the playwrights section was Al'zhappar Abishev. Unquestionably, the drama "In the Name of Generations" is an outstanding achievement of the elder of our dramaturgy. Thematically, it follows the earlier-written plays "Career and Conscience" and "Beneficial Rain." In his latest work, the author does not so much analyze the individual fortune of the hero or try to determine his place in society as bring out the degree of his social involvement and civic responsibility for the fate of his people, Abishev revised his play after the first discussion, with due regard to critical remarks.

A. Tarasi wrote two successful plays in one year. After a discussion at the drama council, some remarks were expressed, and the appropriate corrections were made. A. Tarasi's character totally lacks the exhausting habit often found with other authors, namely carrying their "baby" from theater to theater so they could just palm it off. He is a playwright who is capable of realistically determining the artistic capabilities of a theater and a director and their requirements and tastes. This is probably a result of the artist's belief in his own potentials and his willingness to make his "creation" perfect. But the position of our theaters which have not made a single move toward his two latest works is, to a certain extent, puzzling.

One more drama by Tarasi, entitled "This is My Destiny," is devoted to the socio-psychological problems of the modern economy. The play "The Risk" by R. Seysenbayev, which is close to it thematically, received the prize of the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine; "The Explosion" by M. Sarsekeyev has been staged in a Russian translation at the Russian Drama Theater imeni Lermontov. "The Risk" was also seen by Moscow audiences during the summer performances of the Theater imeni M. Auezov. However, neither of these plays produced a noticeable response in our cultural life. What is the reason? I think the reason was defined 30 years ago by Mukhtar Auezov in his article "Some Thoughts on the Laws of Drama": "In drama and comedy, improbable conflicting conditionalities may take place; however, there cannot be probable, truthful actions in an improbable confrontation of forces. All of our plays are being structures on the artificial misunderstandings of amorous troubles, temporary disagreements of programmed opinions of a positive nature, the struggle between different methods of new discoveries in science, and the final establishment of the work method in the economy; these cannot be a strong enough support for the plays and are themselves improbable confrontations of forces."

The temptation to write on one urgent subject and then another, rushing to drama "crazes," shows only that some writers have not deeply imbued their minds with the needs of our dramaturgy and have not fully determined the object of their creative interests.

Last year, a play by D. Isabekov, "The Heirs," was awarded the first prize established by the Kazakhstan Union of Writers.

The main heroine, the old woman Salikha, in spite of her loneliness, is capable of sharing the misfortune of a total stranger. The swindlers are attempting to exploit her unselfishness and generosity, trying to take her house in which Salikha had lived for many years...

The incident is perhaps not so acute or typical of our life, but in the conditions of a modern city, it is significant enough. A selfish money-grubber who does not shun any means for reaching his goals can mercilessly trample somebody's trustfulness. Such is the type whose sinister traits are nurtured by the ownership psychology and acquisitive morality. Putting such a hero on the stage, the author exposes him as a social danger. The republic press has written much on the merits of this play. The Moscow magazine, THEATER LIFE, featured a good article about this play on its pages, noting its artistic qualities.

All of the above-mentioned works are original creations. The artistic-literary qualities of dramaturgy have never been disputed; that is, it was always believed that they are intended not only for the eyes and ears and brains of an audience, but also for the reader. Still, when they are created directly for the theater, and that means for the director and actors and in the final analysis for the audience, then by this they realize their main purpose.

We dramatized a large number of books from classic and contemporary Kazakh literature. Theaters were pushed to this, on one hand, by the dearth of repertoire, but mainly by the wish to bring our national inheritance to the audience from a new perspective and to bring the world of books to the arena of stage art. The life of each work stands apart.

It is sometimes difficult for a prose writer to write an original work of dramaturgy due to his lack of knowledge of this complex literary genre, the laws of the theater stage and the art of acting. Here the prose writers vitally need help from the theater directors and playwrights. That is why I see prospects here for closer creative contact between the repertoire-editorial board of the Ministry of Culture, the playwrights section of the Union of Writers, and the theater public.

Today the theater expects from playwrights works which would make it possible to speak in full voice from the stage about our time and contemporary man.

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## REGIONAL

### KAZAKH TEACHER BLAMES YOUTH CRIME ON WESTERN FASHIONS

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 83 p 2

[Article by V. Bayev, principal of High School No 7, Honored Teacher of the Kazakh SSR from Uralsk: "False Prestige"]

[Text] How often on streets, squares and at stations do we see groups of "jeans" young men and women. Usually, standing apart, they sing their own songs which only they understand and laugh loudly, paying no attention to everyone around, behaving with a careless negligence, even provocatively. Their eyes literally light up when someone walks by with a late model Japanese portable tape recorder or wearing tight-fitting "brand name" slacks. Skirts and sweaters with foreign labels and "long-beaked" kepis of foreign design are highly valued in their circles. Juveniles often come to school with all these dubious, shady things, and then the teachers sound an alarm.

Tender-hearted people say to us: But is it necessary to raise this issue? They say that this is the fashion among young people, and nothing can really be done here. I agree that good fashion must always be welcome, because it is a movement and life itself. But one should not follow it blindly. And I am deeply convinced that it is possible to influence it, not only possible, but necessary.

The June (1983) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee rated the ideological, educational and professional training of the young generation highly. At the same time, negative occurrences were also noted. We still have families in which the atmosphere is imbued with the private property psychology and the spirit of philistinism. In such a family, it is considered prestigious to have rare, mainly imported things and sometimes to have them at any price, even at the price of crime.

Such "fashion" is not always harmless. Constant efforts by the school and parents are necessary to prevent its effect on young people from being corrupting. But, alas, one can only dream of joint efforts. One can often observe: After sending off their child to first grade, some papas and mamas consider that now the school will take over all the care of educating their child. They leave themselves only the duty of feeding him with delicious food and dressing him in fashion. What does this sometimes lead to?

A case comes to mind. A group of young people were tried for stealing. Among them was Lyuda K., her mother's only daughter. The mother did not want to deny



anything to her "child." She reasoned this way: "It was hard for me, so let Lyudochka at least live well." One day, she put gold earrings and rings on her 15-year-old daughter, provided her with money and sent her to the Caucasus, to the sea. The inexperienced girl immediately fell into bad company. In short, all of this had a primitively simple ending. Trying to satisfy her growing needs for fashionable expensive trinkets, Lyuda began to steal and was brought before the court. But here, too, her mother tried to defend her. With tears, she called on the procurator and judges to have compassion for a young girl and was looking for sympathy among those present in the courtroom. But I thought: "You, mother, should be put beside your daughter and punished with all the severity of the law for ruining your own child with gold presents and money." She intended a good life for her, but prepared a jail. It looks as if fashion is not involved in this. But everything started from it.

Another question: Is fashion always apolitical? Analyzing the nature of political naiveté, V.I. Lenin singled out its basic signs: childish inexperience, extreme myopia in political questions, and an uncritical approach to so-called sociological propaganda.

Let us take the "fashion" for foreign symbols. It is often possible to see young men and women wearing clothes with writings in the Latin alphabet: "Montana," "El Dorado," etc..

The inscriptions are accompanied by exotic pictures of lions, elephants, palm trees, and Hollywood beauties, etc.. Where does all this come from? Some of the things are brought in illegally from abroad, but the majority is manufactured locally in rayon consumer combines and private "shops." But why with foreign labels? Don't we have our own Soviet symbols, or is the alphabet of our own language forgotten?

The problem of "fashion and politics" is not new. It is always timely. And we must by all means highlight Soviet symbols and actively help young people to evaluate the opposing world's window-dressing from class positions. Here thematic discussions among students and youth would be very helpful on these questions: "Your political culture: how you understand it" and "What are the political symbols of the party, state, and Komsomol?".

It was stated at the June (1983) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that: "Lenin believed that forming communist morality is the main goal in the upbringing and education of youth. It is also necessary to bring to light the real humanism of our collectivist morality and conduct an aggressive battle against lack of spirituality, egoism, philistinism, and any attempts to bring foreign views and morals into our midst." The growing generation's attitude toward real and false values also depends on each of us and our active positions in the struggle for its healthy moral cast of mind.

## REGIONAL

### UZBEK MOVIE MAKERS TOLD TO KEEP IDEOLOGY BEFORE CREATIVITY

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 28 Jan 84 p 3

[Article by A. Khamrayev, honored artist of the Uzbek SSR, secretary of the Union of Uzbekistan's Cinematographers, and movie director: "Artistic Responsibility--Following up on the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Today every Soviet artist has to be aware of our world's realities. Tremendous forces of emotional and ideological propaganda have been unleashed in the struggle for people's minds. Therefore, political and ideological activities of the Soviet art are of great importance to both the world and our nation.

"WE ALL RECOGNIZE," REMARKED YURI VLADIMIROVICH ANDROPOV AT THE JUNE 1983 CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM, "THAT THE IMPACT OF ART ON PEOPLE'S MINDS INCREASES AS OUR PEOPLE'S CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRESSES. AT THE SAME TIME THE OPPORTUNITY FOR ACTIVE INTERVENTION OF CULTURE IN SOCIAL LIFE BECOMES GREATER. THUS, THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ARTISTS TO USE THE WEAPON THEY POSSESS IN THE SERVICE OF THE NATION AND THE CAUSE OF COMMUNISM INCREASES TREMENDOUSLY AS WELL."

Thus, the service to our nation and the cause of communism is the basis of creative and social work for those who devoted themselves to movie making--the art medium that reaches the largest audience. Movie makers of Uzbekistan, as well as of the rest of the country, constantly search for new ways to link their art to life. Their contacts with production collectives increase and grow deeper. Only last year movie makers spent time with Syrdar'ya oblast cotton growers, Nechernozem'ye cultivators, and BAM [Baikal-Amur Trunk Line] builders. Lectures given at the Movie House are so popular that there is actually a shortage of season tickets for them.

I believe that we have more than enough resources and a wide field of activities. There are movie premieres at enterprises and on farms, and workers participate in discussing the movie following the showing. Polls are conducted to determine needs of movie audiences. Critics express their views concerning current movie making problems on pages of newspapers, in radio, and on television.

IT IS DISTRESSING, HOWEVER, TO HEAR VIEWS, THAT ARE SOMETIMES EXPRESSED, THAT ART IS THE ARTIST'S ONLY CONCERN. WE ALL ARE SOLDIERS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL

FRONT AND OUR SOCIAL ACTIVITIES CARRY THE CHARGE OF EDUCATION. EVERY MEETING AND CONVERSATION WITH VIEWERS DO NOT SIMPLY SERVE TO ADVERTISE UZBEK MOVIES, BUT ARE A PROPAGANDA OF OUR SOVIET WAY OF LIFE.

Work in the service of art is not compatible with a cold and indifferent attitude. Thus, before he begins working on a new idea for either feature, documentary, or TV movie, journalistic film or psychological drama, the artist has to have a clear understanding of the place his work will have in the struggle that goes on in the world. The artist's civic position and the necessity for his adopting the approach toward life that is compatible with the party line and bolshevik exactitude were discussed at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

IN RECENT YEARS THE REPUBLIC'S MOVIE MAKERS MORE FREQUENTLY CHOOSE INTERNATIONAL TOPICS FOR THEIR WORKS. DO YOU REMEMBER THE MOVIE "SAMOLETY NE PRIZEMLILIS'" [THE AIRPLANES DID NOT LAND]? HOW MUCH OF THAT WHICH SEEMED AT THE TIME PURELY A FANTASY WAS CONFIRMED BY REAL EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. NATURALLY, WHEN THE DIRECTOR RETURNED TO THIS SUBJECT, HE MADE ONE OF HIS BEST MOVIES "PEREVOROT PO INSTRUKTSII 107" [A COUP ACCORDING TO INSTRUCTION NO 107"]. HE MADE IT TOGETHER WITH YU. BZAROV, WHO AFTER ZAKHID SABITOV'S DEATH CONTINUED HIS WORK AND IS NOW COMPLETING THE MOVIE "REPORTAZH IS BEZDNY" [A REPORT FROM THE ABYSS] ABOUT THE STRUGGLE OF LEFTIST FORCES AGAINST A REACTIONARY JUNTA IN A SOUTH ASIAN COUNTRY.

Director L. Fayziyev's fruitful cooperation with India's movie makers, so needed in order to strengthen cultural ties between the two countries and publicize our way of life, is continuing.

Many interesting and exciting movies on this subject were made during recent years by the republic's directors of documentaries. Works of Davron Salimov, T. Nadyrov, N. Azimov, and Kh. Dzhusrayev have become widely known.

M. KAYUMOV'S SERIES OF DOCUMENTARIES ABOUT AFGANISTAN ARE VIVID AND ADDRESSED TO ISSUES OF THE DAY. THE MOVIE "KTO STRELYAYET V RESPUBLIKU" [WHO IS SHOOTING IN THE REPUBLIC] IS OFTEN SHOWN ON THE CENTRAL TV. IT EXPOSES IN SHARP JOURNALISTIC FORM THOSE WHO TRY TO STOP CHANGES IN AFGHANISTAN, PUT WEAPONS IN DUSHMANS' HANDS, AND ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CONTINUED BLOODSHED. "HEROES" OF THIS MOVIE INCLUDE RONALD REAGAN, WHO INSPIRED THE "CRUSADE" AGAINST SOCIALISM, MARGARET THATCHER, "THE IRON LADY," AND AFGHAN COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES.

At the Uzbektelefil'm studio Fayzulla Khodzhaev made a movie about the fraternal help that the Soviet nation extended to Angola and Mozambique.

However, the significance of the movie does not depend only on the importance and the scope of its topic. The movie does not have to have a contemporary theme in order to address contemporary concerns. Just because the movie describes contemporary events does not necessarily mean that it will speak to the contemporary viewer. E. Ishmukhamedov's movie "Yunost' geniya" [Young Years of A Genius] speaks about a great educator of antiquity and

discusses subjects of war and peace and the struggle between the good and the evil, and this is why it is a contemporary movie. Ideas expressed in Sh. Abbasov's "Ognennyye dorogi" [Roads of Fire] speak to the contemporary viewer. A. Kabulov's "Nepokornaya" [The Recalcitrant Woman] and D. Salimov's "Leningradtsy, deti moi" [People of Leningrad--My Children] describe past events and at the same time serve as a weapon in the current battle of ideologies.

DESPITE ALL OUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS, RECOGNIZED BOTH IN THIS COUNTRY AND ABROAD, WE MUST ASK WHETHER WE HAVE DONE EVERYTHING WE CAN IN FULFILLMENT OF TASKS GIVEN US BY THE PARTY AND OUR TIMES. HOW OFTEN DO WE FALL INTO PETTINESS AND LAPSE INTO GIVING A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF DAILY LIFE WHILE SIDESTEPPING IMPORTANT SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

Even young and vigorous directors often choose secondary topics and produce movies that do not touch minds and feelings of viewers. It is too bad since those directors should make challenging movies, open new themes, and create vivid images of their contemporaries.

The July CPSU Central Committee Plenum charged us with specific tasks. It committed us to tackling more vividly and with greater depth significant social themes and to treating problems of communist construction and ideological and moral upbringing of the new man more vividly and with greater depth. We should not shut ourselves within a narrow circle of private interests. We should have more links with the life of the nation to prevent some bores from standing between us and the true creativity.

We, movie makers, should take "fire line positions" in the current ideological struggle. We consider ourselves drafted for this struggle by our conscience and our hearts. We are devoted to communist ideals. As we enter the year of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Uzbek SSR and of the Uzbek Communist party, we should acknowledge it with new significant documentaries and feature and TV movies.

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REGIONAL

KEMEREVO OBKOM CHIEF ON FUEL CONSERVATION

[Editorial Report] Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 2, February 1984 (signed to press 30 January 1984) publishes on pages 3-16 a 5,500-word article entitled "In the Lead of the Movement for Economy" by L. A. Gorshkov, first secretary of Kemerevo Obkom. In the article Gorshkov discusses the organizational, technical, and ideological measures being undertaken by the obkom to conserve and economize on energy fuel resources in the region.

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